

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST MIND IN TRANSITION:
A LIFE OF BASIL MANLY, JR., 1825-1892

BY

JAMES M. MANLEY

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1999

Copyright 1999

by

James M. Manley

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of writing this dissertation, I have been aided by several people and owe them far more than I can repay. In large measure, Bertram Wyatt-Brown's advice, encouragement, and occasional prodding kept this project alive. His personal advocacy within the History Department and his generosity with funds from his endowed chair, the Richard J. Milbauer, not only brought a large amount of the archive material to the University of Florida library on microfilm, but also provided much-appreciated financial aid throughout my stay at the University of Florida. Without the research assistantship he offered to reduce my teaching load over the past year, the dissertation simply could not have been completed. Professor Wyatt-Brown's scholarship and professional leadership, as well as his personal concern for his students, have set a high standard for his students to emulate.

Samuel S. Hill has offered a treasury of encouragement and support, both professional and personal, for the past eight years. His graciousness and the strength of his character have been sources of pleasure throughout my doctoral program. His gift for making criticism sound like compliment continues to amaze me. Not only is the dissertation better for the insight I've borrowed from him, but I am (I trust) a better man for having known him.

Robert A. Hatch forced me to confront epistemological, ontological, ethical, ideological, methodological, and theoretical issues in the practice of history which I otherwise would have avoided. In the process, I learned a great deal about myself and my vocation. In his seminars, I not only gained what understanding I have of the History of Science, but cribbed numerous, invaluable illustrations for lecture material.

Eldon R. Turner offered suggestions for exploring Manly's hymnody at the beginning of this project, most of which I unfortunately remain too musicologically ignorant to investigate. Professor Turner is the only member of the committee for whom I worked as a teaching assistant, and his concern for that area of my professional development is also appreciated.

The late Darrett B. Rutman served on my graduate committee at the beginning of this project. A quantitative materialist, Professor Rutman never approved of my choice of a biography for a dissertation; but nevertheless he and his late wife, historian and editor Anita H. Rutman, were tireless in their Herculean efforts to improve my writing style. The Rutmans taught me much about the historian's craft, and for that gift I am grateful.

C. John Sommerville replaced Professor Rutman on the committee. He has been a role model for me since his service as graduate coordinator in the History Department when I arrived at the University of Florida. Without his guidance I surely would have floundered hopelessly in my first semester, and perhaps produced diaries far darker than even those of Basil Manly, Jr.

Jane E. Dysart and James R. McGovern of the University of West Florida encouraged me to pursue doctoral work in history, and each played a role in my coming to the University of Florida and in preparing me for the work I faced here. Professor Dysart convinced me I could be an historian; Professor McGovern convinced me I could be a teacher. Whatever I achieve in either field began with their encouragement.

Bill Sumners, director, and Jean Forbis, library clerk, of the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archive in Nashville, Tennessee, were especially helpful in providing working space and information along with the wealth of their archives. Ora Lunceford, who insisted that she was only a volunteer and not a professional archivist, assisted me by locating material in the rich archives of Georgetown College's Anna Ashcraft Ensor Learning Resource Center. Her love of Georgetown's history and her friendliness made my time there both profitable and pleasant. Professor Gregory A. Wills and his staff at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Archives and Special Collections were helpful in suggesting areas of the archives I otherwise would not have known to search. The Judson College Archives were opened for me by Becky Long, who helped me locate information which filled in many gaps in Basil Manly, Jr.'s, life.

Friends and fellow graduate students at the University of Florida who read and commented on various chapters in early drafts include Stuart H. Landers (a gifted editor), Andrew Chancey, Daniel W. Stowell, James Mathis, Andrew K. Frank, and Andrew Moore. Susan L. Lewis, Lisa Tendrich Frank, Marcus Harvey, and David McCally helped me keep my priorities in perspective. Robert C. Hampton developed the key to

breaking the code occasionally used by Basil Manly, Jr., in his early diaries. Each of them, in their own ways, made graduate school a little more enjoyable.

While I have relied heavily on the help of all those named above, any errors of fact or awkwardness of style are, of course, my own responsibility.

“Teaching in two schools is like riding two horses at once.” Basil Manly, Jr., once wrote. “It keeps a man’s legs pretty well stretched.” I have been stretched--and occasionally over-extended--by my teaching at the University of Florida, Santa Fe Community College, and Central Florida Community College. I have been rewarded and surprised, however, by the enthusiastic support of several of my students, most notably at Central Florida, who continued to ask about the dissertation long after the semester was over.

From my father, Rev. Jerald L. Manley, I learned a love for the intellectual life, and history in particular. My mother, Julie Ann Manley, taught me the importance of compassion, curiosity, and humor. Their love and encouragement have helped to carry me this far. My sister Joy, one of my best friends, and my brother John, a budding historian of twentieth-century Europe, have performed their sibling duties toward their elder brother admirably.

Several friends offered much-needed support and encouragement: Joan and Lou, Ralph and Mary, Craig, Larry, Kate, Jacky, and most especially Leann.

This dissertation is dedicated to Becky, who “knows anyway” that her Daddy loves her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	ix
 CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 "IT IS MY DUTY TO BE A MINISTER:" CHILDHOOD AND COLLEGE	15
3 "THE HISTORY OF BASIL THE HERMIT:" SEMINARY EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW JERSEY	43
4 "WAITING FOR FUTURE GREATNESS:" THE YOUNG PASTOR AND HYMN EDITOR	83
5 "THE REAL TRIAL IS NOW COMMENCING:" TWO CAREERS IN RICHMOND	99
6 "THE PATH OF DUTY IS THE PATH OF SAFETY:" THE DECISION TO LEAVE RICHMOND	126
7 "LIVING IN HISTORIC TIMES:" THE FOUNDING OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND THE CIVIL WAR	156
8 "IMPECUNIOSITY IS THE TROUBLE:" THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD AND RECONSTRUCTION	190
9 "PROGRESS, USEFULNESS, AND HONOR FOR GEORGETOWN COLLEGE"	214
10 "DOCTORS DISAGREE:" THE CONTROVERSY OVER BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION	243

11	“THIS IS A NEW TRIAL FOR US:” TRAGEDY AND PERSEVERANCE IN THE FINAL DECADE	270
12	“THE MOST VERSATILE MAN:” AN EVALUATION OF BASIL MANLY, JR.’S LEGACY.....	296
	REFERENCES	307
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	319

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST MIND IN TRANSITION:
A LIFE OF BASIL MANLY, JR., 1825-1892

By

James M. Manley

December, 1999

Chairman: Bertram Wyatt-Brown
Major Department: History

Basil Manly, Jr., was an influential Southern Baptist leader for much of the nineteenth century. As a pastor, he ministered at the First Baptist Church of Richmond, as well as at smaller rural congregations. As an educator, he served as president of the Richmond Female Institute and Georgetown College and as a founding professor of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He wrote hymns and edited hymnals. He also led the first Sunday School Board of his denomination.

Yet throughout his life, he felt that he had not accomplished as much as he could. Indeed, he did not rise to the level of leadership of his father, Basil Manly, Sr. At least three forces limited his "usefulness." His deep melancholy often caused inactivity and procrastination. The Civil War and Reconstruction created a political and economic environment which made it difficult for the organizations he created or led to flourish. And the shortage of intellectual leadership in the South caused his gifts to be spread over

several areas of activity, rather than devoted to one pursuit in which he might have attained wider notice.

Despite these difficulties, he did leave a mark on the Southern Baptist Convention through his involvement in Sunday School promotion and in reinforcing the conservative, Calvinistic theology of the denomination. His involvement in the controversy surrounding Crawford H. Toy on Biblical inspiration and his authoring of the Abstracts of Principles for Southern Seminary set the stage for conflicts over Biblical authority and Calvinist theology which have affected the denomination in the twentieth century. Most importantly, he helped set the standard for Southern Baptist leadership in his young denomination.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

I first envisioned this dissertation as a sweeping history of an obscure but influential Southern family. Although as far as I know, I am not related to them myself, having a similar family name made me notice its members whenever they appeared in the historical literature. The more often I encountered them in my reading, the more fascinating their story became.

Captain Basil Manly (at least locally, in New Bern, North Carolina, a Revolutionary War hero), had four children: Charles, Basil, Matthias, and Louisa.¹ Captain Manly, most likely of Irish descent, was a Roman Catholic; his wife, Elizabeth, was a Baptist.² Matthias, the youngest, remained Roman Catholic; Basil and Louisa became Baptists; and Charles, perhaps splitting the difference, was confirmed in the Episcopal Church. As an historian whose primary interest is in Southern Religion, I was intrigued by the religious division of the family.³ More than this made them interesting,

¹ Two other children died in infancy. Louise Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930), 72.

² Manly, The Manly Family, 1-31.

³ Ibid., 31.

however; each rose to some prominence in their professions. Charles would become the Whig Governor of North Carolina from 1849 to 1850 (a two-year term).⁴ Basil--known as Basil, Sr., after the birth of his oldest son--would launch the Southern Baptist Convention in 1844 and be, if not the founder, certainly, with former parishioner James Petigru Boyce, the force behind the creation of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1859.⁵ Matthias would become the first Roman Catholic to sit on the North Carolina Supreme Court but would be denied his seat in the United States Senate by the Radical Republicans in 1866.⁶ Although Louisa was known as a "woman of superior intellect," her career choices were largely limited to motherhood--a profession at which, by all accounts, she excelled. A newspaper editor perhaps put it best when he wrote of her three brothers that "they had a sister with a wonderful mind, and if she had had the same environments would have eclipsed them all."⁷

"Manly Halls" can be found on several university and college campuses across the South; all three of these brothers, and a significant number of their children, would be involved in higher education.⁸ Basil Manly, Sr., even more than his two brothers, would

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32-48;

⁵ *Ibid.*, 71-131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 134-139.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁸ Charles served as secretary and treasurer of the University of North Carolina; Mathias taught mathematics at the same university. *Ibid.*, 43, 134.

spend most of his life building institutions of higher education, such as Furman University, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and the University of Alabama, of which he was president for the eighteen years after 1837.⁹ Of his children, his two oldest sons, Basil, Jr., and Charles, followed his career, becoming both ministers and educators; in addition, both would receive post-graduate education in the North.. Basil, Jr., served as President of Richmond Female Institute (now Westhampton College of the University of Richmond) and of Georgetown College, Kentucky, and was one of the founding professors of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, of Greenville, South Carolina, and later of Louisville, Kentucky. In addition, he was the founder of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board; the editor of the most popular Baptist hymnal in the South; a noted hymnist himself; editor of several Baptist magazines; and the writer of several theological works, more important for the development of a distinctive Southern Baptist theology than for their originality. Charles would serve as president of both Furman University and Union University, Tennessee, as well as on several boards of importance in the Southern Baptist Convention. The other two sons of Basil, Sr., entered the business world. James, the third son, was a diligent but largely unsuccessful industrialist of the Old South; he invented several manufacturing machines, none of which were adopted by the fledging southern industries. He found no greater fortune after the Civil War, in which he served, and scratched a living from a string of nearly

⁹ *Ibid.*, 73-131; A. James Fuller, "Chaplain to the Confederacy: A Biography of Basil Manly, 1798-1868" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Miami University, 1995).

failing general stores.¹⁰ Richard Fuller Manly, the fourth son, would become a leader in the banking and insurance business in Alabama after serving as an 18-year-old Captain in the Confederate Army. Although a layman, he later served as Vice-President of the Southern Baptist Convention.¹¹

The daughters of Basil, Sr., were also note-worthy, although the culture and society into which they were born circumscribed their activities. Abby, who married a Southern Baptist physician and lay leader of some importance, Dr. William Gwathmey, was perhaps the most noteworthy, writing and editing for at least one Southern Baptist missions magazine.¹²

The fourth generation was just as interesting and involved in the world around them. Charles Matthews Manly invented the Manly Engine, the power plant which made air flight possible. Arguably, he was the first pilot of a plane capable of flight; his controversy with the Wright Brothers over the honor would be an interesting story itself.¹³ George Whitfield Manly was among the first generation of Americans to earn a Ph.D. from a German university, the University of Leipzig in 1885.¹⁴ His brother William

¹⁰ Manly, The Manly Family, 313-314.

¹¹ Ibid., 317-325.

¹² Letter from Charles to Basil, April 13, 1888, Manly Family Correspondence, 1857-1892, Furman University Library and Archives, hereinafter abbreviated MFC; Manly, The Manly Family, 307.

¹³ Ibid., 288-308.

¹⁴ George W. Manly, "Contradictions in Locke's Theory of Knowledge" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1885); Manly, The Manly Family, 234.

Gwathmey Manly served not only as Chairman of the Department of Greek Language at the University of Missouri, but as Secretary of the University Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics he helped to develop regional and national athletic associations.¹⁵ John Matthews Manly became the most note-worthy scholar of English Literature of his day, and gained fame by leaving his chair at the University of Chicago to command the Code and Cipher Section of the War Department in World War I. He was also elected president of the Modern Language Association and of the Modern Humanities Research Association.¹⁶ Alexander Manly, the son of Governor Charles Manly and one of his slaves, was a black newspaper editor of some note; his fiery editorials touched off the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898.¹⁷ While not accepted by the rest of the family because of his illegitimacy and race, he embodied many of their characteristics, both in his intellectual abilities and in his temperament. Fanny Louisa Manly, who published as Louise Manly, was an influential educator of young women and the author of several

¹⁵ Ibid., 235-239.

¹⁶ Ibid., 275-280.

¹⁷ Edward L. Ayers, The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 301-304; H. Leon Prather, We Have Taken a City: The Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898 (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989), especially 69; Joel Williamson, The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 195-201.

books of history and literary studies, including a history of her extended family.¹⁸

Numerous others were ministers, college professors, teachers, doctors, military officers, business men and women, physicians, lawyers, judges, and politicians.

Such a sweeping trans-denominational, trans-regional, trans-generational, and trans-racial family history as I had planned would be fascinating work and, perhaps, fascinating reading. Unfortunately, it could not possibly be completed in the time limits set by the University of Florida for its doctoral students. Acting on wise advice, I focused my attention on Basil Manly, Jr., whose deeply reflective, darkly introspective diaries and letters survive in the massive collections of family papers spread across the Southeast.

Basil Manly, Jr., has long been a favorite subject for historians writing within the Southern Baptist tradition; for others like myself, outside that tradition, he is almost unknown. As one of the four founding professors of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the flagship seminary of the denomination, he had achieved fame as one of “The Big Four,” “the Faithful Four,” “the founding four,” “the First Four,” “the Great Quartet,” or even, as I overheard in one Southern Baptist archive from a younger generation of Baptist historian, “the Fab Four.”¹⁹ He served as a secondary figure in the

¹⁸ Manly, The Manly Family, 234; Louise Manly, Southern Literature from 1579-1895 (Richmond: B. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1895); Louise Manly, A History of Judson College (Marion: Judson College Press, 1913).

¹⁹ “Big Four,” “First Four,” “God’s own Elect,” Robert W. Sanders, “Early Struggles of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and How Success was Achieved.” Historical Address, Founders’ Day, January 11, 1923, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 16; “Faithful Four,” William A. Mueller, A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 52; “founding four,” Gordon W. Blackwell, “The Early Beginnings of Southern Seminary.” Founder’s Day Convocation,

classic biographies of James Petigru Boyce and John A. Broadus, two of his seminary colleagues.²⁰ In 1954, J. Powhatan Cox took him as the subject of the thesis he presented to the seminary faculty for the Doctor of Theology degree he received that year.²¹ Cox's thesis is patterned after the "Life and Letters" model of biography popular around the turn of the century, and which still characterized denominational biographies fifty years later. We learn much of "The Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." from Cox; we do not learn much, however, about the man himself. Cox had only limited access to the family correspondence at the University of Alabama. The archivist there had not yet catalogued the material and refused him access to much of it.²² The rich diaries now deposited at Furman University and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary may not have been made available to him by the family; if they were, he made no use of them. A "Box Collection of Letters" owned by the family was opened to him, under the family's control, and served as a major source for much of his information; in addition, letter copy-books which covered much of Basil's life were accessible. From these resources

1969, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; "Great Quartet," Everett Gill, A. T. Robertson: A Biography (New York: Macmillan Company, 1943), 66.

²⁰ John A. Broadus, Memoir of James Petigru Boyce (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893); Archibald Thomas Robertson, Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901).

²¹ Joseph Powhatan Cox, "A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." (Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954).

²² Letters from J. Powhatan Cox to Mrs. Thomas T. Goldsmith, June 26, 1950, August 12, 1950, Basil Manly, Jr., Materials 1825-1892. Historical Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, hereinafter abbreviated BMHCSBC.

Cox built a detailed picture of the public activities of his subject. There are few dates in Basil's life for which Cox does not provide a brief description of his location and activities. From Cox and others, we learn much about the minister, but little about the man who ministered. We learn much about the teacher, but not the man who taught. For all the value of Cox's work--and it is valuable--Basil Manly, Jr., remains a mystery.

The veil surrounding Basil Manly, Jr., can be seen in the ways that he has been written about in the past. For example, one historian refers to Manly's education at Princeton Theological Seminary as "two happy, fruitful years;" Cox is slightly closer to the record when, in passing and in one sentence, he mentions that "his emotions vacillated from a consciousness of weakness to a sense of inner calm."²³ More accurate than "a consciousness of weakness" would be a description of a crushing melancholy which left him nearly suicidal and his parents greatly concerned about his "madness." The lengthy episode set the stage for an emotional breakdown which drove him from pastoral ministry two years after graduation. When a recent biographical sketch notes that "he was a successful preacher and pastor," it might be profitable to ask why Basil disliked pastoral work so much, and felt himself a failure at it.²⁴ It is not that these writers are involved in a deep conspiracy to hide "the truth," but that these questions have

²³ Mueller, 89; Cox, 49

²⁴ Gregory A. Wills, "Basil Manly, Jr.," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, ed. American National Biography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), hereinafter abbreviated ANB.

not been asked--or, at least, not answered. The internal life of Basil Manly, Jr., has not been adequately explored.

The same may be said for other ministers of his time and place. The evangelical clergy of the South have been recognized for their role in their society; yet we still know little about the internal life of these men. What drew certain men to pastoral work? Why did some leave? How did they make career choices?

Anne C. Loveland offers one understanding of these issues in her broad "collective biography" of the Southern clergy, Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order.²⁵ Nearly twenty years after its publication, it remains the standard interpretation of the ways in which Southern ministers both shaped and responded to the culture in which they lived. This dissertation in many ways is an extension of her work.

Basil Manly, Jr., was clearly one of E. Brooks Holifield's Gentlemen Theologians.²⁶ Holifield stirred an interest among many historians in the lives of professional, urban ministers who expressed their beliefs in the rational, Baconian language of the day. Manly, despite his occasional ministry in rural churches, was

²⁵ Anne C. Loveland, Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980). An excellent study of the evangelical clergy in Virginia is Beth Barton Schweiger, "The Transformation of Southern Religion: Clergy and Congregations in Virginia, 1830-1895" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1994).

²⁶ E. Brooks Holifield, Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978). Another biography of a "gentleman theologian" is James Oscar Farmer, The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985).

primarily a scholar, firmly grounded in Baconian philosophy and committed to the rational pursuit of knowledge.

A young Basil Manly, Jr., once gave a speech entitled "Sorrows incident to Knowledge," lamenting the poor emotional rewards of scholarship. "This path of life," he wrote, "is attended by sorrow, that handmaid of man which accompanies him from the cradle to the grave."²⁷ A characteristic of Basil's personality which cannot escape a reading of his diaries and letters is a nearly constant, brooding melancholy, made more anguishing by his intense introspection. Anne C. Loveland noted that "few individuals have left such detailed evidence of the impulse to self-examination and the part it played in the search for holiness as Basil Manly, Jr."²⁸ This dissertation is not an exercise in psycho-analysis. But to avoid the personality trait would not only lead us to avoid discussing Manly's personality itself, as so many others have done, but to misunderstand the career choices which he makes. Many, if not most, of his professional decisions are caused by his concern that he has failed in his current field of activity.

Certainly our understanding of the relationship between melancholy and American religious figures has been strengthened by the works of John Owen King III and Julius H. Rubin. King explored The Iron of Melancholy by examining the lives of

²⁷ Basil Manly, Jr., "Speech on the Sorrows incident to Knowledge by Basil Manly Jnr. of the Senior Class, University of Alabama," March 1843, Basil Manly, Junior, Papers, 1838-1892, Furman University Library Special Collections, hereinafter abbreviated BMF.

²⁸ Loveland, 15.

American religious intellectuals such as Jonathan Edwards and William James.²⁹ Rubin's Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America dealt more broadly with a more representative number of American evangelicals.³⁰ Although very different in organization, both books establish a connection between melancholy and American evangelicalism--although neither author establishes causality.

Unfortunately, neither examines closely the lives of Southern evangelicals. Samuel S. Hill has noted as "the touchstone" of Southern evangelicalism the search for an assurance that one had a relationship with God. This search typically resulted in an emotional life "stricken then released, remorseful then joyful, doomed then pronounced free of condemnation."³¹ Few other scholars have discussed the implications of this despair, and those who have have not been particularly sympathetic. Anthropologist James L. Peacock, for example, reached the rather harsh conclusion that depression and Southern Evangelicalism are so closely linked that the latter should itself be considered a mental illness.³²

²⁹ John Owen King III, The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983).

³⁰ Julius H. Rubin, Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³¹ Samuel S. Hill, Jr., Southern Churches in Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), 84-85.

³² James L. Peacock, "The Southern Protestant Ethic Disease," in J. Kenneth Morland, ed., The Not So Solid South: Anthropological Studies in a Regional Subculture (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 108-113.

While there are clear cultural connections to melancholy, there is almost certainly a genetic influence on the probability that one would suffer from depression. Certainly it was a common feature of the Manly family in the nineteenth century; several members of the family reveal a tendency toward melancholy in their letters and diaries. More serious mental problems which can spring from depression can also be tracked through the family. Politically, Governor Charles Manly was applauded for his interest in building a state mental asylum; it was not widely known that his own daughter was placed in a northern asylum for a condition which was most likely what clinical psychologists today would identify as major depression with psychotic aspects. Murray Boyce Manly, son of Basil Manly, Jr., was also permanently institutionalized for a similar condition. Sadly, Basil Rudolph Manly, another of Basil's sons, took his own life as a result of what his Uncle Charles identified as "religious melancholy." There are enough early deaths (with no cause given by Basil's daughter Louise, the family genealogist) scattered throughout the generations to suggest the possibility that he may not have been the only Manly so desperate.

But it would be a mistake to credit the Manlys with bequeathing only this legacy to Basil Manly, Jr. The Manlys were a clear example of what Natalie Zemon Davis termed the "family arrow in time"--the tendency to establish long-term goals for the family and construct a family identity which aids in reaching the desired ends.³³ The

³³ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus*, 106 (1977):97. For an example of this approach, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Family Arrow in Time: An Evangelical Case History" in his

drive for intellectual achievement and professional success is another gift of the family--perhaps, at times, fueling Basil's sense of unworthiness, but also creating the opportunities for his attainments.

Linked to both melancholy and his family is Basil's sense of duty--or, in his more common word, "usefulness." For Basil, one had a duty to fulfill some purpose, to be used by God in all of one's talents and abilities. Not to be "useful" was more than a failure at duty, but a sin as well; one had not spent the gifts from God wisely in his service. As one of those gifts was the family, one also had a duty to not only protect other members, but to present an honorable picture of the family to the outside world. By being useful, one not only honored God but honored the family. When Basil so often refers to his "uselessness," he expresses more than a melancholy self-pity; he refers to a concept which gave meaning to his life--perhaps the only concept which he could imagine doing so.

Whatever his own feelings of uselessness and ineffectiveness were, he did rise high in the ranks of Southern Baptist leadership. Why he did not rise higher--perhaps as high as his father--is curious. The most accurate evaluation of Basil Manly, Jr.'s life was made at his funeral by his friend John Broadus: "He was the most versatile man I ever met. If Basil Manly had devoted himself to one or two or three things, he would have stood out as the most famous man of his age."³⁴ Basil himself wrote his son that he felt

Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).

³⁴ "A Good Man's Burial," Louisville Courier-Journal, February 3, 1892, BMF.

as if he had applied himself too broadly in his career, failing to obtain “marked and indisputable excellence” or “thoroughness and completeness in any one branch” of knowledge.³⁵ Why Basil was driven to attempt to accomplish so much, and was prevented so often from doing so, is a central theme of this study of his life.

³⁵ Letter from Basil to George, September 28, 1878, Letter Copy Book, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Archives and Special Collections, hereinafter abbreviated LCB, in Cox, 275-277.

CHAPTER 2

"IT IS MY DUTY TO BE A MINISTER": CHILDHOOD AND COLLEGE

The first event recorded in the life of Basil Manly, Jr., after his birth on December 19, 1825, was the death of his infant brother Rudolph three and a half years later. Although Basil, Sr., wrote that at first his young son "seemed to know what it all meant--and asked many questions about his Brother," Basil awoke in the night and became highly distraught when he could not find his brother, who apparently had slept in the same bed with him. "He asked for him," his father wrote, "and being told that he was dead, he burst into a flood of tears, and said that he had no brother now." He could only be consoled after his father "showed him the body." Rudolph's corpse seemed "so natural and sweet," that Basil "seemed to think him only sleeping: and was quiet for the night."

On the next morning, however, Basil "was going about the house and crying most of the day, speaking of his Brother and death," and "continued at intervals to ask for his Brother and to make some remark about him." Basil's grief, his father wrote, was "truly affecting." At the grave side, the little boy "eyed the coffin with undivided attention--and when it was let down into the grave he stepped to the brink . . . and continued to look earnestly until the grave was entirely filled."¹

¹ Zebulon Rudolph, 1827-1829, was only thirty hours short of his second birthday. Basil Manly, Sr., "Church Journal," in Fuller, "Chaplain to the Confederacy: A Biography of Basil Manly, 1798-1868" (Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University, 1995), 88-89; Louise

Surely others from the community attended the funeral with the Manly family, for Basil Manly, Sr., was the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, South Carolina, perhaps the oldest Baptist church in the South and certainly one of the most influential.² The church would give its name to what Walter B. Shurden has called the “Charleston Tradition” among Baptists in the South; as pastor of that church, Basil, Sr., was not only within that tradition, but helped shape and perpetuate it.³

The Charleston Tradition began not in Charleston, but in Kittery, Maine, where a group of Baptists led by William Screven organized a church in 1682. Unhappy with the economic and civil discrimination against Baptists in New England, the church migrated to Charleston in a few years. There they reorganized the church, eventually adopting the

Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930), 130. The story is similar to that recounted of abolitionist Samuel Joseph May’s childhood; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1985), 51-52. Another brother, eight-month-old John Waldo, would die when Basil was five; Fuller, 90-91.

² Norman Wade Cox, Managing Editor, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), hereinafter abbreviated ESB, s.v. “Charleston, S.C., First Baptist Church.”

³ Shurden identifies the other three traditions as the “Sandy Creek Tradition,” with an emphasis on fervor and zeal; the “Georgia Tradition,” which symbolized the denominational identity of Southern Baptists; and the “Tennessee Tradition,” which encouraged sectarianism and opposition to the ecumenical movement. Walter B. Shurden, “The Southern Baptist Synthesis: Is It Breaking?” Baptist History and Heritage 16 (April 1981): 2-19; Samuel S. Hill, One Name but Several Faces: Variety in Popular Christian Denominations in Southern History (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 16-20. On the intellectual life of Charleston generally, see Michael O’Brien and David Moltke-Hansen, ed., Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

Second London Confession of Faith in 1700 which summarized the Calvinistic theology of the English Regular Baptists. Besides its Calvinistic theology, the Charleston Tradition embodied a sense of propriety in worship; their sense of orderly liturgy led Shurden to nickname them “semi-Presbyterians.” Basil Manly, Sr., for example, generally preached his sermons wearing the Presbyterian “Geneva Gown,” a “black silk robe with white bands” on the arms.⁴ Such vestments were certainly not standard attire for Baptist ministers in the South.

The Charleston Tradition also emphasized the professionalism of its clergy. By 1826, when Basil Manly, Sr., his wife Sarah Rudolph Manly, and young Basil, Jr., arrived in Charleston from their home in Edgefield, South Carolina, it would have been unthinkable for the First Church to have hired a minister without a college degree. Basil, Sr., had earned the highest honors in his class at the South Carolina College in 1821.⁵ One of his chief concerns as his son grew up was that Basil, Jr., be as well-educated as possible.

Young Basil’s education began at the age of four; he was sent to a school run by three Charleston women, and he soon came to love his studies.⁶ One of the few childhood anecdotes of Basil’s early life concerns the time when the six-year-old was told

⁴ A painting of the elder Manly showed him wearing the gown; it is not known if the painting survives. Manly, *The Manly Family*, 110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 96-97; Fuller, 31.

⁶ Basil Manly, Jr., “My Early Life,” July and August, 1840, BMF.

that the family would be staying for a few days away from home on Edisto Island. "But what shall I do without my book?" the little boy asked.⁷

At the age of seven Basil entered the school of the German Friendly Society, an opportunity afforded him by his maternal grandmother's ethnic heritage.⁸ Perhaps here he first developed his life-long fascination with the German language. At some point, he began taking music lessons from William Bailey in Charleston.⁹ Throughout his life, music--singing, playing, and composing--would be a constant companion.

Apparently, young Basil caused few discipline problems for his parents and was generally well-behaved. He would remember that he received the most spankings for nail-biting, and recalled only "three or four whippings" from his father "on any other account."¹⁰ Certainly, Basil occasionally experimented with activities his parents did not approve of. At the age of ten, Basil hid behind the woodpile to smoke a cigar. When his mother found him, all she had to say was, "My son, I am ashamed of you, hiding from your mother." There is no record of Basil using tobacco afterwards.¹¹ A favorite anecdote of the family concerned his mother catching young Basil drinking the remnants of wine

⁷ Manly, The Manly Family, 197.

⁸ Basil Manly, Jr., "My Early Life," July and August, 1840, BMF; Manly, The Manly Family, 197.

⁹ "Mode of writing music by numbers," July 27, 1842, BMF.

¹⁰ Memorandum, "Biting my Nails," May 30, 1841, BMF.

¹¹ The incident was told by Basil later in life. "Account of Seminary Missionary Meeting," Western Recorder, 52, April 8, 1886, 4.

left over from a dinner party; while the family practiced temperance, not abstinence, she determined that wine would never be served to visitors again, and the family's wine was kept under closer guard.¹² At the age of fourteen, he remembered that "I used to curse and swear in the most profane manner," but "I think my parents never knew."¹³ As far as can be determined, however, there were no serious disciplinary problems.

In 1837, when Basil was eleven, his father accepted the presidency of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa.¹⁴ Tuscaloosa--later spelled Tuscaloosa--was the capital of the state and had aspirations of becoming a major urban center; at the time, however, it was little more than a frontier outpost.¹⁵

When the family moved to Tuscaloosa, Basil's education was interrupted.¹⁶ For a time, his father instructed him in Latin and Greek; then he, along with a few sons of professors, was briefly taught by the Tutors of Ancient Languages in the University, first a Mr. Pearson and then Mr. S. S. Sherman, who "finding that it occupied too much of his time refused to take us again." Basil then studied with a local teacher, Mr. Wright, in the afternoons after Wright's younger students had left school.¹⁷ In the Spring of 1840, at the

¹² Manly, The Manly Family, 115.

¹³ Basil Manly, Jr., "My Early Life," July and August, 1840, BMF.

¹⁴ Manly, The Manly Family, 197

¹⁵ Ibid., 115; Fuller, 173.

¹⁶ Manly, The Manly Family, 114.

¹⁷ Basil Manly, Jr., "My Early Life," July and August, 1840, BMF.

age of fourteen and the proud height of "5 feet 5 inches and 1/2," he entered the University of Alabama where his father was president.¹⁸

Basil could not have been the son of an evangelical minister in what historians have called the "Second Great Awakening" without being aware of not only the general religious excitement of the society around him but also of his own spiritual life. At the age of five, he asked his father for a prayer to say "every night;" his father wrote one in large "printed letters" the child could read.¹⁹ He would later recall the "impressions" made on him at the age of eight by certain hymns, especially "I am on my Journey Home;" the influence of a Tuskaloosa revival when he was twelve also affected him.²⁰ He would almost always point in later life to a conversion experience at the age of fourteen.

"Some time after entering college I happened to be reading the life of Jonathan Edwards," Basil recalled a few months later. The autobiographical journal of the New England divine had made a deep impression on him.²¹ "I was very much affected by it; I

¹⁸ Basil records his height and that of Charles in his Diary, August 14, 1840, BMF; Manly, The Manly Family, 198.

¹⁹ "My Experience of Grace," December 23, 1840, BMF.

²⁰ Basil Manly, Jr., "My Early Life," July and August, 1840, BMF. Basil Manly, Jr., "My Early Life," July and August, 1840, BMF; private Memorandum, "My Experience of Grace," December 23, 1840, BMF; Letter from Basil to Charles, October 8, 1869, Basil Manly Papers, 1842-91, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina--Chapel Hill, hereinafter abbreviated BMSHC.

²¹ Edwards' "journal" is the focal point of the second half of Daniel B. Shea's Spiritual Autobiography in Early America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

felt different from what I usually did. I wanted to die; I was elevated in my feelings and wound up to a high pitch of enthusiasm. I believe now that I was wrong to wish to die,” he wrote, “but I do hope and believe that I have experienced a change of heart, but I sometimes have my doubts.”²² Nearly thirty years later, Basil would remember that his experience of reading Edward’s biography had brought him “to such a loathing of myself, for my ingratitude, and neglect, and meanness, as it seemed to me, of disregarding the Savior.” He would remember determining that “I would try to become a Christian; that as I had tried before, and failed apparently, I would begin again with the purpose of trying on until I died. I have kept on trying ever since,” he recalled, “sometimes in doubt, mostly in hope, occasionally with joy.”²³

In August of 1840, the death of a close family friend, Professor Horace Pratt, moved Basil to deep introspection.²⁴ The grief of Pratt’s son John, only a year older than Basil, touched the young man. “John Pratt is lying crying and appears to be much distressed. . . . Poor fellow, he is an orphan.” Basil wrote his friend a letter of sympathy,

²² Basil later added after “I wanted to die” a note: “so as to be free from the wicked world.” Basil Manly, Jr., “My Early Life,” July and August, 1840, BMF. A few weeks later, however, Basil repeated his desire for death; “I should like to die. I know I shall be taken away from sin and sorrow and every evil.” Memorandum, September 13, 1841. Basil also wrote about his conversion in a college composition, “My Experience,” October 14, 1840, BMF.

²³ Letter from Basil to Charles, October 8, 1869, BMSHC.

²⁴ Pratt had been Professor of English Literature at the University. Fuller, 153.

and hoped that the death of his father would “make [John] more serious and change his heart.”²⁵

His own recent conversion experience and the grief of his friend drove Basil to a period of deep introspection. Basil, inspired by reading “B. Franklin’s life of himself,” began composing “Plans for Improvement . . . a little table to try to arrive at as great perfection as I could.”²⁶ In addition, he began composing a series of “Resolutions,” which he determined to read every morning at nine o’clock.²⁷ In his introspection, the youth found four faults which troubled him deeply.

Basil was deeply troubled by what he saw as his laziness; in a romantic tone he spoke of the world as “a sort of ‘Enchanted Ground’ the very air of which tends to make me relax my exertions.”²⁸ He ruminated over his failings. “What good have I done to the world or to myself this week? Nothing! What have I done to advance the cause of God in the world? Nothing!! Oh how useless and unprofitable a servant am I! . . . I have been so useless, so idle, so negligent as to have done nothing for my God in all this time. . . . Surely God is good,” Basil hoped, “and can still love me who am so useless.”²⁹

²⁵ Diary, August 12, 1844, August 24, 1844, BMF.

²⁶ Diary, August 14, 1840, BMF. The table itself is found in BMF.

²⁷ Anne C. Loveland reports a list “ultimately numbering around one hundred;” the largest I have found is on of 52. Loveland, 15.

²⁸ Diary, November 22, 1840, BMF.

²⁹ Diary, November 22, 1840, BMF; “Lord help me--very lazy willing to do anything but what I ought. How weak I am!” Diary, August 25, 1840, BMF.

Basil saw as his second fault one linked to the first--the reading of romantic novels. "I had wasted the whole afternoon" reading a novel on a hillside, he wrote in December. "Resolved, never to take up a novel to read it at all."³⁰ Just two days later, however, he indeed "took up a novel and spent all the forenoon in reading it."³¹ Confessing the sin to God, he asked for divine aid. For the rest of his college career, however, the temptation was too great to be overcome.³²

He recorded in code his guilt over breaking Resolution 13--"That I will never give over or in the least slacken my exertions against my sin particularly Frys-cbyyhgva [self-pollution] however unsuccessful I may be." An unnamed section of the "Plans for Improvement" apparently recorded his perceived failures in this troublesome area.³³

Most of all, however, Basil was tortured by his failure to control his nail-biting, which he saw as an indication of a weak will. In November, 1840, Basil noted that while reading a novel--doubling the offense--he had "bit my nails nearly off. Am I never to quit this practice?" he asked himself. "I despise and loathe it. Father wishes me very much to

³⁰ Diary, December 12, 1840, BMF. A resolution against novel reading appears as Resolution 40 in "Resolutions," BMF.

³¹ Diary, December 14, 1840, BMF.

³² For example, see a lengthy memorandum entitled "Of Novel Reading," November 3, 1841, BMF; Memorandum, untitled, July 18, 1841, BMF.

³³ "Resolutions," April 28 and 29, 1840, BMF. Basil used a simple letter-transposition code to record what he saw as his sexual failures (none exceeding masturbation), a practice similar to those used in Puritan diaries from New England, most famously by Michael Wigglesworth. Edmund S. Morgan, The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth, 1653-1657: The Conscience of a Puritan (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1946). Robert C. Hampton provided the key to breaking Manly's code.

quit, I know.”³⁴ A year later, he prayed, “O my Lord and Father deliver me from the bondage of sin and Satan. I wish to be delivered from . . . biting my nails. . . . I am a poor weak wretched sinner unable to do anything myself without thy assistance.”³⁵

Basil seemed consumed with the subject. “I made a resolution to day not to bite my finger-nails,” Basil wrote in the summer of 1840. Not only had his father “used every effort to break me of it,” but Basil had “made a hundred resolutions never to bite my finger again and as often broke them. I know that I shall find it difficult,” he added, “but with God’s help I hope to conquer it.”³⁶ Perhaps to assist God in helping him, he wrote much about the habit, which Basil claimed to have acquired “as early as I can remember.”³⁷ A detailed memorandum was written in the hopes that the contemplation of his sin would convict him more deeply of its consequences. “I carry about on my hands a proof that I have no self-command,” he wrote. “What a figure I shall cut if I ever become a man with my nails all bitten! . . . What a disgrace it is .”³⁸ The “foolish,

³⁴Diary, November 27, 1840, BMF.

³⁵Basil includes nail-biting in a list of “3 things;” idleness is the other and the third is unnamed, perhaps what he saw as his sexual failures. Diary, September 21, 1841, BMF.

³⁶ Diary, August 12, 1840, BMF.

³⁷ “The first time I remember about it is being kept home from school once on account of it. Father said I should not go unless I quit biting my nails.” Memorandum, “Biting my Nails,” May 30, 1841, BMF; Basil elsewhere says that he had had the habit since the age of five. Diary, August 12, 1840, BMF.

³⁸ On “bodily appearance as outward sign of inner merit,” see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 48-49.

useless, hurtful habit” was “disagreeable to others, and above all, painful to my parents.” Basil, Sr., had “chastised” Basil for it; he had promised to give his son gifts “if I would break it off;” yet “at this time my nails are so short that I cannot open a knife with them” and “I cannot bite off any more even if I wished to.” Basil concluded, “Now, it is a sin. It is a positive sin. It is disobeying and dishonoring my parents.”³⁹ Yet the lengthy memorandum did not curb the habit. Two months later, another memorandum followed, rather presumptuously entitled “What shall I do this week to advance the great ends of my being?” First on the list of over 20 items was a resolution that Basil “must not bite my nails.”⁴⁰

For all his time spent in introspection, Basil found time for active involvement with other students. In December of 1840, Basil decided to organize a weekly prayer meeting for “religious students.”⁴¹ With the presence of Basil, Sr., and John Leadley Dagg (the first Southern Baptist systematic theologian and by then a nearly blind but highly respected figure), Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal students met for short talks and prayer.⁴² Basil served as secretary to the group and kept detailed lists of its

³⁹Memorandum, “Biting my Nails,” May 30, 1841, BMF.

⁴⁰ Numbered eighteenth could be found an admonition not to “open a novel or play on any consideration whatever.” Memorandum, “What shall I do this next week to advance the great ends of my being?”, July 18, 1841, BMF. On the same day, Basil wrote a memorandum, “Of Novel Reading.” July 18, 1841, BMF.

⁴¹ Diary, December 15, 1840, BMF.

⁴² Diary, December 29, 1840, BMF. Methodists likely had their own “society.”

fluctuating membership.⁴³ At some point, the prayer meetings ceased to be held, perhaps in response to the “sneers and ridicule of the worldlings” among the other students; but at the suggestion of John Pratt, the group was reorganized and operated solely by students. Basil served as secretary of this group as well.⁴⁴

Early in his college career, Basil joined, and was appointed Historian of, the Philomathic Society of the University of Alabama, a debating club. In his first speech to the society he outlined its purpose. It was not the society’s “object to afford a stage for idle and trifling amusement. No, Gentlemen! We aim, or should aim, at something greater, something higher. . . . We design to prepare ourselves to take our proper station in the world.”⁴⁵ Much of Basil’s time was spent in preparing speeches for the society.

Another demand on his time was writing compositions for his classes. A list of his ideas for compositions shows the range, both in scholarship and seriousness, of his writing. Essays on “The Division of the Union” and “Conditions of our slaves compared

⁴³ Several of which survive in BMF.

⁴⁴ Basil Manly, Jr., “Account of the Rise of the Students Prayer Meeting in the University of Alabama,” August 14, 1843, BMF; Letter from John Pratt to Basil, no date, 1843, BMF. “Sneers and ridicule. . . .” Basil Manly, Jr., “Remarks for Student’s Prayer Meeting next Sunday Evening, December 24, 1843, BMF. Several of Basil’s “Remarks” given before the group are found in BMF.

⁴⁵ “Draft of a Speech before the Philomathic Society,” 1840, BMF. At least once, the Society also served as a place where a young man could defend his honor against his accusers. Thomas A. Woodward had been accused of informing the faculty about the misdeeds of another student; the society heard the case and judged him not to have broken the trust of the students. “History of the Philomathic Society from January 1840 to January 1844 by Basil Manly Jr.” BMF

with that of the Lower Classes in England, Scotland” were mixed with compositions on the question of “Mules vs. Horses” and of the usefulness of Phrenology. They addressed the morality of slavery, dueling, and tobacco use; an early essay expressed the wonders of the caves surrounding Tuscaloosa, which Basil had visited when he was thirteen years old.⁴⁶

Some of his essays revealed the creative imagination of the young student. In “Consequences of the Introduction of the Art of Flying,” Basil argued that the “constant improvement in the art of locomotion” made it inevitable that flying machines would one day be built. Basil skipped the detailed engineering of such machines to focus on their impact upon society. “Man will become more of a ‘cosmopolite,’” Basil dreamed. “More persons will travel, and we shall lose many absurd prejudices. . . . National differences will be rendered less frequent, when there is less of national prejudice; and thus the peace and happiness of the world will be promoted.”⁴⁷ In another composition, “New Modes of Writing Music,” Basil wrote that “the common and proper mode of writing music is inconvenient and takes up much time and space.” Instead, Basil

⁴⁶ “Subjects for Composition,” BMF; “Visit to the Coal Mines of Tuscaloosa, 1841, BMF; “A Visit to the Coal Mines of Tuscaloosa in the year 1839,” rough draft of school composition, August 17-18, 1841, BMF.

⁴⁷ Basil Manly, Jr., “Consequences of the Introduction of the Art of Flying,” Composition presented to Professor Mims, May 1843, BMF.

proposed a simpler system of assigning numbers to the notes of an octave. This much simpler system he used throughout his life in the composition of hymns.⁴⁸

Other essays revealed a melancholy tone. In "Happiness," Basil concluded that since happiness could not be found in fame, wealth, wisdom, or religion, that it simply could not be found at all; "perfect happiness is not to be found in this world," although perhaps the "greatest happiness" possible could be found in the "fear of God."⁴⁹

Throughout 1842, sixteen-year old Basil wrestled with what he believed was a call to pastoral ministry.⁵⁰ As he wrote his Grandfather Rudolph, "I have felt there is duty in the manner. . . . The question with me has been not what occupation is the most honorable profitable or agreeable but in what pursuit may I do the most good." The youth asked his grandfather to keep the matter confidential; he would prefer that no one knew of his thoughts, especially outside the family.⁵¹

As Basil moved into his senior year, his pattern of intense self-examination had begun to reap a deepening melancholy. Some indication of Basil's sense of despair can be found in a speech delivered in 1843, "Sorrows incident to Knowledge." Knowledge was no antidote to sorrow, he wrote; "its possession is the source of pain to us." The

⁴⁸ "Mode of writing music by numbers," July 27, 1842, BMF. Scraps of Manly's musical compositions can be found in nearly all the archived collections.

⁴⁹ Manly, "Happiness," Professor Brumby, January 15, 1841, BMF.

⁵⁰ Diary, April 4, May 9, June 18, 1843, BMF.

⁵¹ Letter from Basil to Grandfather Rudolph, May 17, 1842, BMF.

desire for more knowledge created "a perpetual thirst which can never be satiated. It is a hunger which only grows more insatiable by every gratification. . . . The scholar," Basil wrote, "drinks the bitter cup of the inheritance of woe as deeply as the unlettered hand. . . . This path of life, as well as any other, is attended by sorrow, that handmaid of man which accompanies him from the cradle to the grave."⁵²

Privately, Basil wrote little of his mental state in 1843, but his few words concerned his growing melancholy. "Being alone as much as I am," he wrote, "I have a great many thoughts about myself and my character, defects, errors, excellencies etc."⁵³ "Last year about this time I thought I was mad," Basil wrote in August. "I shall soon come again to the same conclusion. . . . It would take but little to unhinge this feebly set mind, to untune its strings and make them produce the wild music of madness."⁵⁴ In the midst of his fear of madness, Basil attempted to write a composition for a class on the subject, but never finished it. "Omnes Insanire" survives, however, as an unfinished

⁵² "Speech on the Sorrows incident to Knowledge by Basil Manly Jnr. of the Senior Class, University of Alabama," March 1843, BMF. On the cover sheet, Basil scribbled in pencil, "This speech is very respectfully dedicated to the Genius of Dullness and Ignorance, as she has been patron of it."

⁵³ Diary, August 26, 1843, BMF.

⁵⁴ Memorandum, August 5, 1844, BMF. "So strangely and completely am I destitute of firm constancy of mind that I have been frequently on that account tempted to think myself mad." Diary, June 10, 1844, BMF. "My mind frequently seems almost unhinged and my thoughts are more like the incoherent ravings of a mad man than of a person in his sober senses. . . . I have precisely the same feelings now--and (what is strange) it is just about the same time of the year that I felt so last year." Diary, August 29, 1844, BMF.

manuscript. In the essay, Basil related that he had “had now for a year or so a confused and rather undefined notion in my head that all men are subject to fits of insanity now and then which last for a long or short time according to the circumstances.” Some were always insane, and their “madness bursts forth in their actions;” others had a “secret want of balance in their mind” which “lurks unknown . . . yet constantly lead[s] them astray.”

Basil attempted to outline his “startling theory.” First, he wished to concern himself only with the “waking state” of the mind; “With the strange inexplicable incomprehensible phenomena of sleep dreams etc. I am not at present concerned,” although they would indeed be a subject of “vast interest” worthy of “investigation and curious inquiry.” Second, he explained that insanity applied to more than “such a nature as to render a man a fit inmate for an insane hospital;” he defined it as “absence of mind. . . . The mind seems to be separate from the body. That mysterious link which connects our sentient self with the external world seems to be broken. This is insanity.”

“I call it insanity when a man’s mind jumps from idea to idea without any connection, now sinks into gloom and now rises to elation and felicity without any cause,” Basil wrote. He never finished the essay, but at the bottom of the paper noted that “Sometime perhaps when I feel myself under the influence of this that I call insanity I will write down my ideas. Perhaps while they are on me, I can express them better than I can now when cool and self-possessed.”⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Basil added that when in such a state, he felt like those who abusively “take ‘the gas’ (oxide of nitrogen).” Basil Manly, Jr., “Omnes Insanire--On Insanity,” fragmented draft, May 10, 1843, BMF.

A month later, fears of madness seemed to have passed, but his unhappiness had not. Basil described himself as “dull and listless,” and was “particularly grieved at my own idleness and laziness. . . . O God,” Basil added, “What a worthless unfaithful weak creature I am!”⁵⁶ His mother agreed, telling Basil “that I am too lazy for any use. Indeed I begin sometimes to fear that something of the kind is true.” “I have been ever since the vacation commenced acting a most lazy worthless despicable part and have done nothing at all of any consequence. . . . I am of no use and worth just nothing at all.”⁵⁷

Throughout 1843, Basil also became more concerned about how others perceived him. In a speech before the Philomathic Society, “On a regard for the opinions of others,” Basil portrayed the perception of others as a “magnetizing influence which emanates insensibly but certainly” and affected the person perceived. “As silent and resistless as the lunar reign on the world of water,” all were prone to having their character shaped by this force.⁵⁸

In addition to these concerns, during Basil’s senior year at the University of Alabama he faced an increasing dissatisfaction with his academic work. “I am surprised to see how little originality I have,” he recorded in his diary.⁵⁹ This discouraged him

⁵⁶ Diary, June 10, 1843, BMF.

⁵⁷ Diary, August 29, 1844, BMF.

⁵⁸ “On a regard for the opinion of others,” Valedictory Speech before the Philomathic Society, 1843, BMF.

⁵⁹ Jottings Down, June 12, 1843, BMF.

because of his “particular desire to excel in composing and speaking;” yet all too often his essays were “as dry a thing as can be imagined.”⁶⁰ His resort to what he considered plagiarism troubled his conscience. “I can select and plagiarize so that it would be impossible for any one to detect me,” Basil noted, “but that is not true greatness.”⁶¹ Scholarship required more than to “cull and pick and plaster together the materials of other men and ‘flourish the incongruous compound as our own.’”⁶²

As Basil approached his graduation, he felt increased pressure to be original in writing his graduation essay, which would be read at the commencement. Although his “original intention . . . aimed at entire originality,” his essay troubled him. “Though no one probably could detect a plagiarism,” he wrote, “several of the thoughts are not entirely my own--clad anew indeed--whitewashed, but still whitewashed blackbirds.”⁶³ Although Basil did “desire and mean to be original,” he despaired that “it requires an effort but God helping me,” he added, “I will make the effort.”⁶⁴

Still more pressure came to the young student; he found that “the first honor of the class has been assigned to me” and that he would deliver the valedictory oration at the commencement in addition to the standard exercise. “I am naturally very anxious to do

⁶⁰ Jottings Down, July 14, 1843, BMF.

⁶¹ Jottings Down, June 12, 1843, BMF.

⁶² Jottings Down, September 26, 1843, BMF.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Jottings Down, September 26, 1843, BMF.

well this time," Basil wrote, especially since "my being the son of the President will excite of course some suspicion among those who know nothing about the facts," falsely supposing that "it was a partial judgment which gave me the distinction. In order to prevent this and refute it," Basil realized, "I must do my best. Yet alas how unable am I to do anything of myself--my mind is not as cultivated as it should have been, and now, when I ought to be thoroughly furnished to literary effort, what barrenness and feebleness appears!"⁶⁵ He determined not to consult any written material in preparing his valediction; only this safeguard, he believed, would keep him from the embarrassment of being accused of plagiarism in such an honored address.⁶⁶

"I have been laboring and tugging and striving for the last 4 years for this my valedictory," Basil wrote, "and now that I have got it I almost wish I did not."⁶⁷ He thought the essay weak: "I am afraid it is after all not much," Basil despaired, "but it is the best I can do just now."⁶⁸ When his valediction was delivered, his audience would not hear a single plagiarized thought; in his struggle for "entire originality," however, he

⁶⁵ Jottings Down, November 21, 1843, BMF.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Jottings Down, November 23, 1843, BMF.

⁶⁸ Jottings Down, November 23, 1843, BMF. In fact, at the last moment Basil replaced the piece, "The Limits of Human Reason" with a speech he had prepared earlier, "The Diversity of Mental Character." Note added to coversheet, "Speech by Basil Manly Jr. prepared for the Commencement of the University of Alabama, December 13, 1843." Both speeches and the Valedictory Address, BMF.

revealed more of himself than he had intended.⁶⁹ His melancholic musings on the “cold, unfeeling world” which the graduates would be entering troubled “several persons,” whom Basil found “taking me to task about it, as too gloomy a view for a young man especially to entertain.” Basil responded, at least publicly, that he was truly not “misanthropic--nor inclined to look too much at the dark side of things,” and he defended his essay by arguing that “this world is all a fleeting show of vanity and selfishness” and that he expected “a stern struggle to go through” in his adult life.⁷⁰

Writing such a melancholic speech, being forced to defend it, and perhaps even worse, the approach of his birthday, caused him to become even more inactive. Although Basil would write, “I feel sometimes as if God has raised me up to assist in accomplishing some great end,” he himself felt “cold and lifeless and worthless.”⁷¹ His birthday entry in his diary reflects this growing mood. “I am now 18 years old. How little have I yet done of any use to myself--or the world,” he despaired. As he considered his future, he determined to make his career choice by determining “how it is that I may be most useful.”⁷² “The profession of physic or law” did not entice him; he “could not endure to be tied down thus to the things of earth” as a doctor or lawyer.⁷³ Besides, Basil

⁶⁹ Jottings Down, September 26, 1843, BMF.

⁷⁰ Jottings Down, December 15, 1843, BMF.

⁷¹ Jottings Down, December 15, 1843, BMF.

⁷² Jottings Down, December 19, 1843, BMF.

⁷³ Jottings Down, December 17, 1843, BMF.

noted pragmatically, "the demand is oversupplied in those branches" by the number of educated young men entering them. "Conscience would not let me rest either as a Lawyer or Physician," Basil wrote. "I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to be a minister." Even though his personal preference would be to teach, where he was sure he would find "a more congenial sphere and be more satisfied," he could not resist "the 'call of God.'" "The Ministry-- and the Baptist Ministry especially--calls for more educated young men and offers peculiar inducements of usefulness to each." Although Basil felt "greatly deficient in much that a Minister should possess," the "remarks of friends and acquaintances," especially "all those who conversed with me almost" at the Alabama State Convention, encouraged him. He determined to follow a plan of self-study which would prepare him for the professional ministry.⁷⁴

The next day, his self-criticism returned with a vengeance. "How unprofitably, to say the least, have I spent this day;--this--the first day of the new course I was to begin!" Basil had spent the day after his birthday in what he described as "idleness and folly in reading trash and nonsense, in gratifying my vain delights in romantic fiction." He imagined himself as a pastor in the future, being discovered by a parishioner while he was "absorbed in some novel, or pouring over the polluted pages of Shakespeare, or Garrick, or Byron instead of the golden leaves of the Book of Books." His guilt over this "sinfulness" horrified him; "Oh! When I think of my idleness, my folly--my inconstancy--my sinfulness, I shrink back and cannot take upon myself the duties of a Christian

⁷⁴ Jottings Down, December 19, 1843, BMF.

minister. . . . Oh God, my sins, my sins, deliver my soul from these evil tyrants for they are many and they are strong and I cannot resist them.”⁷⁵

After graduating, Basil found employment in familiar surroundings; his father hired him to teach the family’s younger children for four hours a day.⁷⁶ Although Basil had determined to “take an independent, original, manly, Christian course” after graduation, his father had different plans.⁷⁷ Basil, Sr., had found it difficult to obtain a teacher in Tuscaloosa; with misgivings, Basil agreed to take on the task. “Of course, I am bound by his wishes.”⁷⁸ He feared that he would fail in this endeavor--“I am afraid that I shall not prove a good teacher,” Basil wrote in his diary.⁷⁹ He disliked the work; “I dread undertaking to instruct the children, but I shall do the best I can.” With romantic melodrama, Basil surveyed his new employment. “Now indeed comes the toil of life. I have hitherto only heard the roar of the waters at a distance; now they roll their billows at my feet.”⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Jottings Down, December 20, 1843, BMF. The following day he spent in “fasting and prayer over my sins.” Jottings Down, December 21, 1843, BMF.

⁷⁶ Jottings Down, January 21, 1844, BMF.

⁷⁷ Jottings Down, January 2, 1844, BMF.

⁷⁸ Memorandum, January 3, 1844, BMF.

⁷⁹ Jottings Down, January 21, 1844, BMF.

⁸⁰ Memorandum, January 3, 1844, BMF.

In the spring of 1844, Basil entered the deepest period of gloom of his teenaged years. He began the year with high hopes for his future. "I desire influence; I desire popularity; I wish my voice and my pen to have some effect to mold the character of the circles in which my lot is cast."⁸¹ Yet he was plagued by doubts that "such a weak, unholy being as I am can be called" to the ministry.⁸² By the middle of February, he once more turned his attention to his "curious notions about Insanity" and "temporary derangement." "In my own case," he feared, "very slight causes would be sufficient to produce insanity." Thinking about the possibility frightened him; he determined not to "read much, or think much, or talk much about insanity," since even dealing with the subject academically "would have a strong tendency to unhinge my mind and throw it off balance." Even reading romantic "Tales of the Arabesque would soon overturn me."⁸³

Within a month, he had sunk deeply into depression. "My mind is weak and my body is enfeebled and I am subject to frequent fits of the blues."⁸⁴ The weight of his melancholy clouded his thoughts. "I am afraid to think seriously--I am too full of all sorts of notions to have a connected idea. I am become a perfect fool." He bewailed his lack

⁸¹ "I desire this, not for myself, but that I may do something to arrest the tide of desolation that sweeps over the earth." Jottings Down, January 21, 1844, BMF.

⁸² Jottings Down, January 15, 1844, BMF.

⁸³ Jottings Down, February 16, 1844, BMF. A year earlier, he had taken the same precautions: "I must avoid thinking or reading too much of madness." Memorandum, August 5, 1843, BMF.

⁸⁴ Jottings Down, March 2, 1844, BMF.

of “resolution enough to throw off the blues and . . . throw off the fooleries.” His condition frightened him because “my mind never was in a state before that I know of. It is precisely like it used to be when I thought I was crazy only a little more so.” The “bodily infirmity and mental inactivity and moral recklessness” brought by his melancholy led him to the conclusion that “Really, I am good for nothing.”

Basil feared that his depression would drive him to take his own life, a possibility which he could only bear to name once. “I dread a serious thought,” he would write euphemistically. “I am firmly convinced that if I should give up all thoughts of God and religion . . . I should either take to drinking (though I loathe and dislike spirits) to drown thought or else commit suicide.” “Oh my God I cannot let thee go, I cannot give thee up. . . . If I do that then indeed there only remaineth _____!” He could not bear to complete the sentence.⁸⁵

Fortunately, this desperate time passed quickly. Just two days later Basil could record that “I have been somewhat relieved from the terrible despondency and despair of which the writing under the last date is so feeble a picture.”⁸⁶ As he passed out of his depression he was astonished at the “alteration of hope and fear and darkness and light”

⁸⁵ The underlining represents a similarly underlined blank space in the diary. Jottings Down, March 13, 1844, BMF. In the margin, written much later judging from the hand, Basil noted, “This disjointed and abrupt and unintelligible train of feelings (for they were not thoughts) presents the truest picture I could give of the state of my mind at the time: but mere words cannot describe it fully.”

⁸⁶ “I am afraid to read it over. I put down my words just as they came, but no words can express the feelings I had. Oh may God in his mercy be pleased to deliver me from falling into such a state again.” Jottings Down, March 15, 1844, BMF.

which he experienced.⁸⁷ In early June, Basil passed through both experiences in the same day, and recorded his thoughts in his diary. In the morning he complained once more of his “variable . . . mind, purely weak and irresolute and inconstant.” In the afternoon, however, he reconsidered his previous entry. “After all, are not the things which in my gloomy fits this morning suggested themselves to me as proofs of the peculiar weakness of my mind--are they not to some degree the common lot of human nature?” Writing carefully, Basil noted that “I am at certain times (and not at certain times either, but more properly, frequently) prone to a sort of despondency.” He feared that “this is almost sure to seize me when I go out into the world and mingle with other men.” Basil attempted to find some way to deal with his sense of inadequacy. “I have to tried to quell this,” he wrote, “by encouraging such a feeling as this. ‘I am Basil Manly Junior--I depend on nobody’s pleasure for my happiness. What I am I am and it is nobody’s business.’ But this is not the way.” Basil determined to change the words he told himself in such times. Instead, he decided to say, “‘I may be weak--I know I have my faults; but I am trying to improve them. In the mean time I thrust myself in nobody’s way--I don’t profess to be more than I am. And if I am not as smart or powerful or learned as some men--I can still and will still contribute my mite to the common welfare and no one ought, or has any right to despise me for doing so.’ If I considered not the view which would be taken of

⁸⁷ Jottings Down, March 25, 1844, BMF.

me on earth but in heaven," Basil concluded, "I might attain greater conformity to the heavenly nature."⁸⁸

Basil's concern for the opinions of others had been one of the causes of his gloomy emotions; he had carefully planned the way to present himself to others in order to "make people feel and believe that I am speaking not for myself or of myself but as God's messenger." "The way to keep people from despising my youth in my public ministrations," he noted, "is to feel and act as a man sent from God." Fearing that he would be found "lacking the dignity of person, the weight of character and influence and the power of intellect" of other ministers, he determined to rely on a solemn demeanor in the pulpit to impress his hearers. With that decision, "I must hence carefully avoid all levity of manner and act so that serious and solemn deportment in the pulpit may not be inconsistent with my usual manner and conversation."⁸⁹

In 1844, Basil prepared a composition on "The Duty of giving Religious Instruction to our Colored Population," a concern which he would have throughout his life. Basil opened with a half-hearted defense of slavery but a sharp attack on the "unchristianlike rancour and misrepresentation of the inhabitants of the Northern States" who attacked an institution which "personally concerns them not." Basil argued rather ambiguously that "whether a curse or a blessing--whether a wise or an unwise

⁸⁸ Jottings Down, June 4, 1844, BMF. Basil's rapid mood shifts--although not as severe as those associated with manic-depression--indicates a physiological, biochemical cause of his depression.

⁸⁹ Jottings Down, June 3, 1844, BMF.

institution,” slavery “belonged to the Southern people and none but they can interfere with it.” Basil “firmly opposed” any “interference with our institutions from any foreign quarter.” The “right of slavery I hold to be inviolable,” he told his audience. “The Bible sanctions slavery. . . . This is the plain word of God and to all the torrents of declamatory eloquence I can oppose one thing--thus saith the Lord.”

Yet Basil feared that while Southerners “firmly and unflinchingly stand up for every inch of our rights,” they “may neglect the duties of benevolence and Christian charity to our slaves.” Basil argued that “the Golden Rule” and “the general duty of benevolence” required that slaveholders teach their slaves the doctrines of Christianity; “they are men as we; they have minds as we; they have souls as we.” While the laws against teaching slaves to read were “obviously necessary,” they closed off the ability of slaves to read the Bible. Hence, Christians were obligated to provide religious instruction “to compensate them for the loss of this means of knowledge . . . as long as this law exists.”⁹⁰

Basil wrote his pastor, T. F. Curtis, a letter on this “subject of some importance, at least as I consider it.” While he did not wish “to set up as an advisor or a counselor” and did not want Curtis to “impute my meddling to vanity or self-sufficiency,” Basil outlined his concerns for “our colored population, and especially that part of it which happens to be in connection with our church.” Basil, with “grief and horror,” described the

⁹⁰ Basil Manly, Jr., “The Duty of giving Religious Instruction to our Colored Population,” 1844, BMF. See Loveland, 219-256.

independent worship services of slaves as “a great shouting and worse” which “encourage and produce lustful passions and the worst sort of vices. . . . Is this the Christian religion?” Basil asked. “Is this the religion we owe our servants?”

Yet slaveholders, Basil argued, were concerned with providing little religious education except that their slaves learn “the ‘one great and first commandment’ -- ‘Thou shalt not steal.’” He proposed that the Tuskaloosa church establish a special Sunday School for its slave members in the newly completed “lecture hall” of the church. Basil was concerned that such meetings be held “in the name and authority of the church” because of the “unusually severe . . . laws of this state.” While the Methodist church had supported meetings which were “strictly contrary to the law,” Basil wished to establish the program “within the law. . . to give no one an opportunity to interrupt or molest us on any reasonable plea or pretext whatsoever.”

While Basil pleaded for Curtis to institute such a program, he himself could only promise that “I am willing to do my part, as long as I remain.”⁹¹ Four months later, Basil was licensed to preach by the Baptist Church of Tuskaloosa and he prepared to leave for Newton, Massachusetts.⁹² The young Southerner had decided to attend seminary in the heart of New England.⁹³

⁹¹ Letter from Basil to Thomas F. Curtis, February 12, 1844, BMF.

⁹² “License to Preach,” May 19, 1844, BMF. The license is signed by Thomas F. Curtis, pastor, and three deacons, including Benjamin Whitfield and Martin Richards.

⁹³ Unfortunately, no account of his decision to go to Newton survives.

CHAPTER 3

“THE HISTORY OF BASIL THE HERMIT:” SEMINARY EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW JERSEY

After an almost three month journey from Alabama, with stops to visit cousins in North Carolina, Basil registered as a student at Newton Theological Institute, on the outskirts of Boston, Massachusetts, the leading theological seminary for Baptists in America.¹ The faculty at Newton was composed of four talented professors. Ira Chase, a Vermont native and a graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary, had founded the Institute in 1825. He taught the courses in Ecclesiastical History during Basil's stay there, and had been a friend of Basil, Sr., for several years. Henry Jones Ripley, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties, was a native Bostonian and graduate of Harvard College and Andover Seminary. Barnas Sears, President and Professor of Christian Theology, had studied in Germany in the 1830s after graduating from Brown University and Newton Institute. Horatio Balch Hackett, had also studied in Germany, at Halle and Berlin, and his courses in Biblical Literature and Interpretation, like Sears', drew on the latest in German critical thinking.² Nearly all the

¹ "Jottings Down," writing on inside cover: "I left Tuscaloosa Ala--July 2, 1844 I arrived at Newton--Sept. 25, 1844." BMF.

² The Newton Theological Institution: Historical Catalogue, twelfth edition (Newton Centre, Massachusetts, June 1925), 8-9, SSA. A description of the faculty appears in

instruction was in the form of “recitations;” students were grilled in the lecture halls over readings which had been assigned to them.³

The faculty were New Englanders, and only seven of the thirty-nine students at Newton were Southerners; Basil felt quite alone in a new world.⁴ Manly’s arrival in Massachusetts, “at this new place and new era in my life,” brought an immediate confrontation with a different culture; with no apparent sense of irony, he looked forward to his experience of “foreign travel and enjoinings.”⁵ His “first impressions of Northern folks and things” seemed to revolve around the haste with which society conducted itself.⁶ “When I first went to New England,” he would write two years later, “it seemed to me as if everybody (and I among them) was living by steam.”⁷ For a young man “coming from the sluggish South,” this required some adjustment. “I felt as if out of

George Rice Hovey, Alvah Hovey: His Life and Letters (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1928), 28-32. Alvah Hovey, later President and Professor of Theology and Ethics at Newton, entered Newton the year after Basil left.

³ Letter from Basil to The Rev. F [Francis] Wayland, “The Comparative Advantages of Newton and Princeton,” April 1846, Letter Book 1846-, BMF

⁴ Information obtained from alumni biographies, Newton Historical Catalogue, 45-50.

⁵ “Jottings Down,” October 4, 1844; March 4, 1845 BMF.

⁶ “Jottings Down,” December 6, 1844, BMF.

⁷ This echoes an entry in his diary from his first year in Massachusetts: “Minds move quicker here. Every thing rushes as by steam with great rapidity.” “Jottings Down,” March 4, 1845, BMF.

breath by the rapidity of motion.”⁸ Basil, Sr., agreed that “it puts a man out of breath when he first begins to associate with the Yankees. I perceive it in your letter. If you stay there long enough,” he teased his son, “you will be a native Yankee yourself.”⁹

Basil followed his father’s advice and boarded alone, with no roommates, and took few opportunities to preach in his first year of seminary.¹⁰ As his father desired, he focused all his attention on his studies, although Basil, Sr., counseled him to find a church in the country to minister in occasionally. “Intercourse with both city and country will be good--chiefly the city,” his father wrote, and Basil was advised to take the train into Boston often to be exposed to city life.¹¹ And his father worried for his safety: “In traveling about, every where, at all hours of the day or night, keep a sharp and resolute look-out for thieves and robbers.”¹²

⁸ Letter from Basil Manly Jr. to The Rev. F. [Francis] Wayland, “The Comparative Advantages of Newton and Princeton,” Princeton, April 1846. Letter Book 1846-, BMF. Other small differences were also noted; for example, Church congregations disappointed him--“It is astonishing to think how large a part of the congregation do not hear the sermon. It is more so here than at the South.” “Jottings Down,” December 1, 1844, BMF.

⁹ Letter from Father to Basil, October 2, 1844, Manly Family Papers, William Stanley Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, hereinafter abbreviated UAL..

¹⁰ Letter from Father to Basil, October 2, 1844, UAL.

¹¹ Letter from Father to Basil, October 25, 1844, UAL.

¹² Letter from Father to Basil, February 4, 1845, UAL.

Only a week after arriving in Newton, Basil saw an abolitionist paper attacking “us poor benighted Southerners.”¹³ Although slavery was likely in the background of seminary conversations, it apparently was several months after Basil arrived at Newton before discussions about slavery between students turned volatile.¹⁴ In mid-December, Basil had a particularly disagreeable argument about slavery which caused him to spend several lines in his diary convincing himself that he had not been driven by the encounter to commit the sin of anger; at least, “in that excited state,” he had not said anything which he ought not to have said.¹⁵ Afterwards, he sat in his room “talking to myself with all the irony and sarcasm imaginable” about what he termed the “Pautisocracy” of the “universal benevolence of those kind persons who are so disinterested and so much at leisure as to be able to attend to everybody else’s business and to regulate all other people’s affairs.”¹⁶ After he had calmed down, he determined to avoid such conflict in the future. “On the subject of slavery I will not generally engage in discussion. The people here cannot understand me or else I cannot understand them--and we are in such different situations

¹³ “Jottings Down,” October 4, 1844, BMF.

¹⁴ At least, no references appear in his diary.

¹⁵ “Jottings Down,” December 15, 1844, BMF.

¹⁶ “Jottings Down,” December 15, 1844, BMF. “Pautisocracy” appears to have been coined by Basil, perhaps from the Scots-Irish “Pautener,” meaning “vagabond,” or in Basil’s words, “so much at leisure.” J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, ed., Oxford English Dictionary, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. “Pautener.”

and look at the matter in such a different point of view--that discussion will rarely do good."¹⁷

Yet in his diary he continued the conversation with himself, contemplating the moral issues surrounding slavery. While he did not consider slavery to be evil in itself, all too often it became so. Basil had come to develop a moderately anti-slavery position. "I must look forward to the time when this question and all its exciting circumstances and connections shall be finally buried when every man shall be free and see how the matter will seem then," he wrote hopefully. "My prejudices are all on the side of my forefathers and countrymen--and while I have at various times--(not so much since I have been here as formerly)--entertained doubts as to the morality of slavery--my prevailing opinion has always been it was not in itself a sin to be the owner of a slave. In this conviction I am deeply and firmly settled." Yet the very structure of slavery itself coupled with the original sin of slaveholders--or the tendency of all humans to moral failure--had created a problem. "That sin may be committed in consequence of the power necessarily given the master--I acknowledge--but this is by violation of the obligations imposed by the situation and of the fundamental principles of that relationship." Manly argued to himself that slavery inevitably led to cruelty, and that "on account of its great liability to abuse I consider it as an evil--and shall be glad when by proper peaceful and Christian means it

¹⁷ "Jottings Down," December 15, 1844, BMF.

shall be everywhere abolished....hoping that this may be the case before my death perhaps."¹⁸

Slavery was not the only divisive issue at Newton, and Basil was not alone in his unease there. Before the end of Basil's first semester at Newton, he--and several other students--were considering leaving. Manly writes in his diary that John Williams of Virginia and Samuel Avery of Maine approached him about leaving; Edwin T. Winkler of Georgia apparently had similar conversations with him as well.¹⁹ The reason most gave was that Newton's spiritual atmosphere was colder than they had either expected or experienced at home. Williams "finds his piety decreasing;" Winkler admitted to flirting with agnosticism.²⁰ Basil himself wrote that "I have not kept up the rigor of piety and I'm afraid I shall be in heart and spiritual things frozen up." He feared becoming a "cold, spiritless intellectual giant" and not the "warm, zealous, affecting preacher" he had come to Newton to train to be. "Let Hebrew, let Greek, let everything else be neglected, my heart must be kept and I must grow in grace and in the knowledge of God, whatever other kinds of knowledge be or be not increased." He determined to "live a holier life and

¹⁸ "Jottings Down," March 29, 1845, BMF.

¹⁹ "Jottings Down," December 2, 1844, BMF. Williams and Winkler were among those who left; Avery stayed to graduate from Newton. Newton Historical Catalogue, 48-50.

²⁰ Letter from Basil to The Rev. F. Wayland D.D., "The Comparative Advantages of Newton and Princeton," April 1846, Letter Book 1846-. Basil writes of an unnamed student, apparently Winkler, who had temporarily adopted agnosticism as a result of a course at Newton on Theism; he recanted this position "by clinging to the simple historical fact" of the life of Christ and "letting go all his metaphysical doubts and inquiries."

maintain a closer walk with God;" if this was not possible, "I must go somewhere else when I can."²¹ After a few weeks of examining his own conscience, he determined that "the spiritual atmosphere which prevails here is not what it ought to be. I feel its chilling deadening influences day after day. . . . Am I to be subjected for the next 3 years to the chilling influence of a moral atmosphere like this?"²²

"As to the temptation there to let down one's spirituality and zeal," Basil, Sr., wrote his son, "it belongs to the ministry. You cannot escape it." If Basil would find that he could not resist this temptation, "you have either mistaken your vocation, or are not rightly preparing for it." The father worried for the son. "It is a pity but you had some good humble negroes (bless their souls) to hold a prayer meeting with once a month," he wrote Basil. "I do not know much about your Yankee negroes, but I think probably they won't do."²³

Other considerations than his spiritual condition began to weigh on Basil's mind. He began to doubt the wisdom of his belief that Newton was "the best place" to continue his education; he feared that his esteem of the Institution was "one opinion formed

²¹ "Jottings Down," December 2, 1844, BMF.

²² "Jottings Down," December 13, 1844, BMF.

²³ Basil, Sr., wished that he could send one of his own enslaved church members, "unabated in simplicity and fervor, to your icy regions." Letter from Father to Basil, January 30, 1845, UAL.

perhaps on too slight a moment.”²⁴ Manly determined to sort out “my line of duty” in remaining at or leaving Newton.²⁵

As Basil wrestled with his decision, he became increasingly annoyed at both the atmosphere of Newton and his colleagues there, especially Northern seniors, whom he believed to be arrogant, religiously lax, and snobbish. He decried privately the “cliqueism and party spirit” of some students, mostly Northerners and seniors, who were “erecting themselves into an aristocracy, throwing the rest into the plebeian ranks.”²⁶ They would “forget the respect due to another’s feelings...men ought to think and to act as if they supposed others as well as themselves had delicacy and honorable feelings.”²⁷

A number of “diversions, strifes and debates, woundings of feelings, and insulting remarks and sharp replies” on the part of the “Aristocracy” led Basil to mourn the lack of “brotherly feelings and Christian intercourse” which he felt a seminary ought to exhibit.²⁸ Petty arguments over the payment of library fines for a society, or over latecoming to Morning Prayer, or over who had the privilege of standing next to the stove in chapel

²⁴ “Jottings Down,” December 2, 1844, BMF.

²⁵ “Jottings Down,” December 2, 1844, BMF.

²⁶ “Jottings Down,” November 23, 1844, BMF.

²⁷ “Jottings Down,” November 23, 1844, BMF.

²⁸ “Jottings Down,” December 13, 1844, BMF.

fueled several dinnertime quarrels.²⁹ At least once, a student from Georgia, Edwin T. Winkler, almost came to blows with an Aristocrat over a public rebuke.³⁰

Basil also complained that "none of the present Senior Class, I believe," observed the Sabbath, and was taken aback when some of the Aristocracy had ridiculed a student for quoting scripture--"I confess that laugh shocked me."³¹

Manly was particularly incensed when some seniors met secretly "for the purpose of adopting some measures to get Prof. Chase out of his professorship." Chase "is an old man and was one of the founders of the Institution"--in fact, had been the first professor at Newton.³² These seniors had claimed that Chase was "in his dotage and no longer fit to teach in this institution."³³ Basil in return defended him, at least privately, as "a very pious man" whose sermons were "sound sensible and forcible." Frustrated with "all this hurly burly," Basil wrote, "I cannot see what earthly business they [the Aristocracy] have with the matter."³⁴ Angry at "our good aristocracy who are so kind as to be endeavoring

²⁹ "Jottings Down," November 23, 1844, December 13, 1844, BMF.

³⁰ "Jottings Down," December 13, 1844, BMF. Edwin Theodore Winkler, born the same year as Basil, had had a wider experience of Northern life, having graduated from Brown University. ESB, s.v. "Winkler, Edwin Theodore."

³¹ "Jottings Down," December 13, 1844. BMF

³² Chase was also a friend of Basil, Sr.'s. "I think you should rather seek out and cultivate Professor Chase. He is a man of prayer." Letter from Father to Basil, October 2, 1844, UAL.

³³ "Jottings Down," December 13, 1844, BMF.

³⁴ "Jottings Down," December 13, 1844, BMF.

to preserve us from the horrible fate of receiving Prof. Chase's instructions," Basil went through "a grand flair up" in which, "in that excited state," he came close to quarreling.³⁵

Basil, Sr., learned in a letter from Chase that a serious ethical problem had arisen among some of the students. Chase had written of "the total want of discipline in the Institution, and the letting down of conscience and honor among the students." Some students had apparently been pocketing money paid them for preaching at various churches without reporting it as taxable income. "I have no idea of your staying there to partake of the disgrace that must attach to this concern," his father wrote him.³⁶

As Basil wrestled with his unhappiness at Newton, he slowly came to an acceptance of "my notions about staying here."³⁷ By the end of December, he had come to believe that his dissatisfaction would not be removed by leaving Newton; he derided the idea that he would "find fewer difficulties in some contrived future clothed with all the richness of hopeful fancy."³⁸ By early January, he had decided to remain for the rest of the academic year; by March, he had determined "to stay here 2 years at least."³⁹

³⁵ It was important to Basil that he had not in fact quarreled, which he would have considered sinful. "Jottings Down," December 15, 1844. BMF.

³⁶ Letter from Father to Basil, January 24, 1845, UAL.

³⁷ "Jottings Down," December 21, 1844, BMF.

³⁸ "Jottings Down," December 21, 1844, BMF.

³⁹ "Jottings Down," January 1, 1845, March 3, 1845, BMF.

His father supported his decision to stay. "It is probable," Basil, Sr., wrote hopefully and prophetically, that "you will be required, if your life is spared, to assist in building up Institutions, Theological and Literary, at the South; possibly, it may be requisite for you to take a prominent share. . . . If not, it is evident that you will be demanded for some prominent post in a city." In either event, a seminary diploma from the finest Baptist seminary in the country would prove invaluable. To Basil's comment that Basil, Sr., had had no such education, the father replied, "You are now much better educated than ever I was, it is true; but I have served my day in a fashion: your day is different from mine--and requires a different preparation. The world is advancing," Basil, Sr., noted, "and the men that star upon it must adapt themselves to its position and aspects, in order to meet the times that pass over them!"⁴⁰ The times that did come to pass, however, would cause them both to reconsider the decision to stay.

Throughout the 1840s, tensions between Baptists in the North and South escalated. The chief tension was between those Baptists who favored a more informal association, relying on the work of independent, affiliated "societies," and those who preferred the more structured, controllable work of denominational "boards." Generally, Northerners preferred the former, and Southerners the latter. But as would be seen in the political sectionalism that was developing at the same time, tensions concerning political structures instead came to focus on one emotional issue--the morality of slavery.

⁴⁰ Letter from Father to Basil, January 30, 1845, UAL.

In 1844, two specific trials of the denomination's unified strength came to the foreground which tested the proclaimed neutrality of the national Triennial Convention of Baptists. Both involved the appointment of missionaries--one, the "Georgia Test Case," addressed the appointment of a slaveholder to the home mission field; the other, the hypothetical "Alabama Resolutions," asked a similar question about foreign missionaries.⁴¹

The Georgia Test Case involved the request of the Georgia Baptist Convention to have James Reeve appointed as a home missionary, raising (as was required) the money for his salary. Reeve's application included a statement that he was a slaveholder, and the language of the Georgia Convention's request made it clear that this was a test to see if any slaveholder would indeed be appointed as a home missionary by the Triennial Convention. Noting the insincere nature of the request, the Home Missions Society refused to consider the appointment.⁴²

The "Alabama Resolutions" were actually "a bluntly worded inquiry" written by Basil Manly, Sr., and signed by him, his pastor Thomas F. Curtis, and two other Alabama

⁴¹ The best short treatment of the events of 1844 is H. Leon McBeth, The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 381-391. The fullest treatment which places these events in the national political context is C. C. Goen, Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the American Civil War (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), 90-98, 115-117. See also John B. Boles, The Irony of Southern Religion (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 77-81; Mitchell Snay, Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 134-138.

⁴² The response is reprinted in H. Leon McBeth, A Sourcebook of Baptist Heritage (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1990), 256-257.

Baptists.⁴³ It simply asked the American Baptist Missionary Union whether any potential slaveholding missionaries would be approved by the society. The equally blunt refusal angered many Baptists in the South, and almost immediately Baptists both North and South apprehended a sudden break in the denomination. “I sometimes smile,” Basil, Sr., wrote his son, “when I think what a bobbery my little suggestion in our church meeting, made with great modesty and no wish to urge anyone’s determination or action but my own, has made.”⁴⁴ Within four months of the “resolutions”, the Southern Baptist Convention would be born.

Although his father had warned him in December that “I have a feeling you may find yourself unpleasantly situated after this, among the despisers of your father,” Basil, Jr., was surprised both by the Board’s decision and by the reaction of his Northern colleagues.⁴⁵ In late February, Basil learned that “the Board of Foreign Missions had answered our Resolution in the negative--stating that they would not send out a slaveholder as a missionary. This threw me all aback.” He spent a week “in an unsettled state of mind--excited roused--unable to do anything else” but consider whether or not he

⁴³ Characterization from McBeth, Baptist Heritage, 387; ESB, s.v. “Basil Manly, Sr.”

⁴⁴ Letter from Father to Basil, April 17, 1845, UAL.

⁴⁵ Letter from Father to Basil, December 3, 1844, UAL.

should stay at Newton.⁴⁶ As would become his pattern, Basil composed an outline of the options available to him and attempted to balance reasons for and against those options.⁴⁷

First, Basil listed the reasons for remaining at Newton. He noted that leaving might lead to a charge of being “fickle-minded.” He had already made a place for himself at Newton and had made some friends. And he realized that wherever he went, he would find “some inconveniences and difficulties.”

Basil took pains to note the advantages which Newton provided. He admired the “Able and Experienced Professors” and the “good Library--which is constantly expanding.” He felt that the mode of teaching which employed oral classroom recitation “is worth much to a man of naturally lazy disposition.” Of the six advantages he listed, three concerned his identity as a Southerner: his “intercourse with persons so different from myself and our Southern people,” for example, would stretch his mind. “They differ in opinions, in feelings, in habits,” and Basil felt that he “may learn from such associations.” Moreover, “minds move quicker here . . . as by steam”, and for his self-described “phlegmatic” nature, this environment could prove therapeutic.

Basil’s last reason for staying at Newton also involved his Southern background--his fear that if Southerners left the North, it would “put an end to all good feeling and

⁴⁶ “Jottings Down,” March 3, 1845, BMF.

⁴⁷ Apparently Basil learned this method at Newton; he referred to it as his process of “balancing arguments.” In a letter received by Basil while at Princeton, Winkler writes of “Newton logic” and of “our old method of balancing arguments.” Letter from E. T. Winkler to Basil Manly, Jr., Penfield, Index Sub-Editorial Chair, September 3, 1845, BMSHC.

Christian intercourse between Northern and Southern Baptists.” He did not want to contribute to building “a great Chinese Wall over which none can pass North or South,” leading both regions to “acquire the most exaggerated notions of the other.”⁴⁸

Wanting “to do nothing in haste or in passion,” Basil waited a day to list the reasons for leaving Newton.⁴⁹ First on the list was his concern for the lack of piety he had seen at Newton and his dissatisfaction with the minimal emphasis on practical Christianity at the institute.

The remainder of the list concerned Manly’s Southerness. “From expressed opinions here, and from my knowledge of the South,” he wrote, “I shall be looked down on here as low-spirited and sneered at in the South as a sneak.” Moreover, he did not want to “take an equivocal position before my Southern brethren. All my feelings are with them,” he wrote. “I am of the South, believe as they do. I feel as they do.” To remain at Newton “would be saying--You indeed are insulted but I am not--therefore I am not one of you and I join in the act which shuts you out.” Worse, staying would “hinder my future usefulness in the South...[and] shall impair their confidence in me as a whole souled Southerner.” For Basil his vocation was sure: “The South is my home. There I expect to live and labor and there I expect to die. There if anywhere is my call--among the poor and destitute.” And should he instead remain to minister in the North, his

⁴⁸ “Jottings Down,” March 4, 1845, BMF. A rough draft of this list exists, essentially the same as the diary entry, Basil Manly, Jr., Materials, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Special Collections, Louisville, Kentucky, hereinafter abbreviated SSA.

⁴⁹ “Jottings Down,” March 5, 1845, BMF.

reputation would be damaged by his "taking advantage of an institution and of benefits furnished not by my people--but by another who cut us off. . . . I shall give no man at the North cause to glory over me hereafter by saying--I furnished you the means of an education."

After looking at his list, perhaps with a sigh, Basil concluded that "the other students from the South will leave anyhow."⁵⁰ And not only would that effectively nullify many of his reasons for staying; two days later, he realized that "in case the other Southern Students left I should be alone without anyone with whom I could associate freely and friendly."⁵¹ At some point, Basil decided to leave.

Basil, Sr., supported his son's decision, "after the exhibition of hatred from the abolitionists,"⁵² but encouraged him to complete his seminary education in the North elsewhere.⁵³ He agreed with Basil that Southern institutions were weak.⁵⁴ "Some parts

⁵⁰ "Jottings Down," March 5, 1845, BMF. Although Manly apparently did not seriously consider returning to the South, he added that "Southern Young Men really have a duty" to study in the South; "if all who can go away, it will be long before any good institutions are raised at the South."

⁵¹ "friendly," sic. "Jottings Down," March 7, 1845, BMF.

⁵² Letter from Father to Basil, March 10, 1845, UAL.

⁵³ With only one reversal--"I think it best to stay at Newton," where Basil would have the advantages of living in a "foreign country." Letter from Father to Basil, March 24, 1845, UAL.

⁵⁴ Winkler, who planned to go to Mercer, feared he would not learn much there. Letter from Basil to Parents, March 25, 1845, Basil Manly Papers., Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archive, Nashville, Tennessee, hereinafter abbreviated SBCHA, folder 1.

of the course--Hebrew etc." would be nearly impossible to find at the Southern schools.

"I can scarcely see any prospect of advantage at any Southern Institution beyond what you would have in my study with the aid of Mr. Curtis," the Tuskaloosa pastor who read Hebrew.⁵⁵ But Basil, Sr., saw beyond his son's current dilemma. "It was to help build up our own" schools, he said, looking to his son's future, "that I was the more anxious to have you complete your course at the best Institutions our country can afford."⁵⁶ "The time will come (soon I hope) when Southern young men will not go to the North for their instruction, literary or theological."⁵⁷ "Your set will probably be the last that will go; and for all I can see, ought to be the last." This, however, made it all the more important that Basil and his generation "should stay and absorb as much as you can . . . that you may return and transfer it to your appropriate abodes, and make it available in building up Institutions at home."⁵⁸

From the beginning of the Alabama Resolutions controversy, his father had suggested that "if you find yourself assailed, annoyed, shunned--pull up and come home,

⁵⁵ Letter from Father to Basil, March 10, 1845, UAL.

⁵⁶ Letter from Father to Basil, March 10, 1845, UAL. "Your position with reference to rising institutions, etc., in the churches of your own denomination seem to demand of you the most complete preparation you are capable of." Letter from Father to Basil, March 24, 1845, UAL.

⁵⁷ Letter from Father to Basil, March 24, 1845, UAL.

⁵⁸ Letter from Father to Basil, March 10, 1845, UAL.

whenever you choose--or go to Princeton.”⁵⁹ Basil agreed that he should “go to Princeton, which indeed I take to be the only reasonable alternative.” He wanted to learn more of the program there, however, and “nobody knows anything about it.”⁶⁰ Basil, Sr., suggested that his son go to Providence, Rhode Island, and consult with his old friend, the famous Baptist leader Francis Wayland.

Basil’s visit with Wayland was not altogether pleasant. The writings of the distinguished churchman had created an image of a dignified gentleman in Basil’s mind; he was disappointed. “Why he looks like a rowdy!” exclaimed Basil. Moreover, Wayland unintentionally insulted him by “treating me more like a boy than I liked altogether, calling me Manly etc. (just see how squeamish I am getting.)” The trip was valuable, however, in obtaining knowledge about the seminary at Princeton.⁶¹

The fact that the seminary was not a Baptist institution did not cause great concern. “As to strict Presbyterianism” at Princeton, his father remarked, “it need do you no harm. You can take up what you find good and suitable to you, and leave the rest to them that like it.” After all, the Charleston churchman noted, “in some respects, it is a

⁵⁹ Letter from Father to Basil, December 3, 1844, UAL. “I will much prefer your finishing your course somewhere. I see no place, but Princeton, after Newton.” Letter from Father to Basil, February 4, 1845, UAL. “I can see no advantage to leaving Newton for Andover, or any place, but Princeton.” At one point, Basil, Sr., mentioned a school in New York City, “I know not its name, nor who is at the head of it” (perhaps Union Theological Seminary), but obviously gave it little thought. Letter from Father to Basil, March 10, 1845, UAL.

⁶⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 4, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

⁶¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 22, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

noble denomination.”⁶² Basil agreed, saying that while “I have no fondness for the most straitest system of Calvinism . . . yet the doctrines of election final perseverance particular providence etc. are very dear to me.” The “very strict Calvinistic notions” of “the Princeton theology” when compared to “the Newton theology” gave him little concern. “I cannot but say that half of our present Senior class are what we should call decidedly Arminian in their tendency--and judging from accounts such has been the case for several years.” If Newton was producing Arminian Baptist ministers, he wanted no part of it. “If Princeton is too strict” in its Calvinism, “I am afraid Newton is too lax. . . . I am not afraid of being too strict.”⁶³

Basil summarized the benefits of Princeton. “The ability of the Professors, the high character of the Institution, the general good scholarship of the students who go there (presumed), the library, and all the facilities, as well as the reputation of the place conspire in its favor.”⁶⁴

Basil decided it would be too risky for his reputation to announce that he was leaving in case he should change his mind and be seen as “vacillating.” On his journey to meet with Wayland in Providence, he packed all his possessions for the journey, “making every preparation as if I were going to Princeton, without returning at all from Providence--so that I may do as I choose.” There seemed little risk involved; “if I decide

⁶² Letter from Father to Basil, March 24, 1845, UAL.

⁶³ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 22, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

⁶⁴ Letter from Father to Basil, March 31, 1845, UAL.

to remain at Newton, I can come back, unpack, and no body will be a bit the wiser except myself.”⁶⁵

Wayland suggested that Basil visit Princeton, where the term had not yet ended, and decide for himself first hand if he should enroll there. On May 9, 1845, he wrote his parents that he had met with some students, “those he would be joining,” and visited classes with them. Basil felt that he would fit in there. Of the students he met, he wrote, “I do not find myself alarmed by their proficiency or their remarkable talent.” At the bottom of the letter he added, “May 10. I was matriculated this afternoon.”⁶⁶

Before mailing the letter, he expressed his thankfulness for leaving a place where people thought that

Massachusetts is the most important place in the world, occupying the best part of New England, which is bounded on the North by Nova Scotia and Canada and the Equinox--on the east by the Atlantic Ocean separating it from those unimportant islands--Europe, Asia, and Africa--on the South by a few small states--where slavery “that accursed thing” exists and on the west by New York--for which the Yankees have a great reverence and a great jealousy--New England was everything and Massachusetts was the biggest part of that.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 22, 1845, SBCHA folder 1. On March 7, 1845, Basil mentions Princeton as an option, noting the better library there; on April 18, he still seems undecided, mentioning that “if I go to Princeton, it will require some pretty vigorous study.” “Jottings Down,” BMF.

⁶⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 9, 1845, SBCHA folder 1. “On April 28 [1845] I left Newton finally--and arrived in Princeton N. Jersey May 3rd 1845. May 10th I became a member of Princeton Theological Seminary by signing the pledge required.” “Jottings Down,” no date for entry, BMF.

⁶⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 9, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

Compared to Massachusetts, Princeton, New Jersey, seemed a much slower, quieter environment. "The quiet and retirement of the place is very favorable to study. . . . When I came here I seemed to have found again the placid atmosphere of a real home."⁶⁸ Although New Jersey reminded him more of home, Manly was still struck by the cultural differences "this side of the Mason and Dixon line."⁶⁹ For example, a race riot erupted in Princeton in which a black man was taken from the jail and killed. "Now see the difference. Here is a very serious violation of the dignity of the civil law. Yet I will warrant that the thing will not be known outside of Princeton. If the same attack on a prisoner in the hands of the magistrate had been made in Tuscaloosa, what a fuss it would have created." In the same letter, Basil related an incident "showing the influence of Southern Aristocratic pride." A student at Princeton "got drunk one night and went marching through the streets in great state--crying out, 'I am Daniel Eliot--Son of Senator Eliot of Georgia.'"⁷⁰

More so than in Massachusetts, Basil used his location in Princeton to help his father stay in contact with Northern Baptists and educators. Several times, Basil, Sr., asked him to secure recommendations from the faculty at Princeton University for

⁶⁸ Letter from Basil to The Rev. F. [Francis] Wayland, "The Comparative Advantages of Newton and Princeton," Princeton, April 1846. Letter Book, 1846-. BMF.

⁶⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 11, 1847, BMF.

⁷⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, June 20, 1846, BMF.

vacancies at the University of Alabama.⁷¹ On several occasions he passed on greetings from Northern clergymen; on one occasion, he personally confronted an unnamed clergyman for slandering his father by accusing him of cruelty to his slaves.⁷²

Occasionally, Basil's location served an economic function as well, as it had in Massachusetts.⁷³ Often, he purchased books for his father which were unavailable or expensive in the South; music books for his sister were also rare at home but readily

⁷¹ One position was "Professorship of Agriculture Chemistry Geology etc." Basil passed on to his father recommendations and information from a Dr. Torrey of Princeton and New York Medical University for George C. Schaeffer, son of a Lutheran clergyman but "a native of this country...entirely free from accent or anything of that sort." Basil also made inquiries about "a Mr. Hixford (or some such name: I do not remember it exactly)" about whom his father had requested information; Basil reported that he showed "excellent promise" but "has yet a reputation to acquire." Letter from Basil to Father, Princeton, February 8, 1847, BMF. Basil had been asked to do this once in Newton as well. In Basil, Sr.'s, conflict with Barnard, he wrote, "Barnard has acted like a traitor and a puppy. I am done with him . . . he must go. Enquire for a good Professor in that Department--and let me know." Letter from Father to Basil, December 3, 1844, UAL. For this conflict see Fuller, citation forthcoming. On another occasion Basil recommended a C. W. Shields for a position which is unclear from the letter, with the caveat that Shields was a personal friend of Basil's. Undated fragment, March 1847?, BMF.

⁷² Basil learned that the minister had said that Basil Manly, Sr., went into his "back kitchen in the morning before breakfast and whipped his slaves." The confrontation can only be imagined, but Basil Jr. did secure an apology from the offender. Letter from Basil to Father, May 10 addition to May 5, 1847, BMF. The minister is almost certainly George B. Ide; Fuller, 207-209.

⁷³ Basil, Sr., had written Basil while he was in Newton to purchase some sheet music for "the University men--but No negro music!" Letter from Father to Basil, November 22, 1844, UAL. His father also purchased books in Newton through Basil; Letter from Father to Basil, December 3, 1844, UAL.

available in Philadelphia or Princeton.⁷⁴ Rumors of the invention of a sewing machine reached Basil's mother in Tuscaloosa before they reached Basil in Princeton, however; he spent a considerable amount of time trying to discover if such a machine actually existed before obtaining a price.⁷⁵

But of course, Basil's chief purpose in Princeton was to gain the education he felt so strongly a young minister ought to obtain. At Princeton, he found perhaps the finest theological faculty in the United States. Archibald Alexander, a native Virginian who had served as President of Hampton-Sydney College in that state despite the lack of his own degree, was the founder of the seminary and Professor of Pastoral and Polemic Theology while Basil attended Princeton. Samuel Miller, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, taught Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. Charles Hodge, Professor of Christian Theology, was perhaps the most important theologian in nineteenth-century America; certainly he was the most widely read and taught more seminary students than any other. John Breckinridge, son of the United States Senator from Kentucky, taught the pastoral courses. Joseph Addison Alexander, son of

⁷⁴ As one example of many, see Letter from Basil to My Dear Brother and Sisters, Princeton, January 1847, BMF.

⁷⁵ Basil discounted these rumors; "if it had been of any great account I should certainly have heard something concerning it," February 25 addition to Letter from Basil to Parents, February 24, 1847, BMF; the next day, he reported discovering "after diligent search in the most unlikely places" that a sewing machine had in fact been exhibited at the National Fair in Washington, D.C.; February 26 addition, *ibid.* A letter from "Sis" apparently asked about the machine as well. Letter from Basil to Parents, March 1, 1847, BMF.

Archibald, had studied at Halle and Berlin in Germany before taking the position of Professor of Oriental and Biblical Languages in the seminary.⁷⁶ Unlike his experience at Newton, the professors did most of the talking in the classroom; Basil took copious notes of the lectures he heard.⁷⁷

Not only did Southerners make up three-fifths of the faculty; of the eighty-nine students at Princeton when Basil arrived, twenty-four were from the South, a much larger representation than had been at Newton.⁷⁸ A large contingent of them, like Basil, were Baptist refugees from other Northern seminaries.⁷⁹ Basil likely felt far more comfortable surrounded by his fellow Southerners; but that comfort did not impede the progress of his returning, growing melancholy.

Throughout 1845, he reflected his depression in his letters home--which he described as "The History of Basil the Hermit."⁸⁰ By April, still in Newton, he himself

⁷⁶Edward Howell Roberts, compiler, Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1815-1932 (Princeton: Trustees of The Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, 1933), xx-xxi.; William K. Selden, Princeton Theological Seminary: A Narrative History, 1812-1992 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 40-47; David B. Calhoun, Princeton Seminary: Volume I, Faith and Learning, 1812-1868 (Carlisle: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 262-263; 274-285.

⁷⁷ Letter from Basil To Wayland; Manly's notes from Hodge's lectures number over 1200 pages. Manly, Notes, SSA.

⁷⁸ Information taken from Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 131-155.

⁷⁹ Calhoun, 336.

⁸⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 25, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

noticed the decline of his spirits. "My nightly meditations have been many of them turned inward upon myself--to see and know for myself--who and what that 'myself' might be. . . . Everything I did, everything I saw or heard was made to contribute by comparison to forming an estimate of myself." Such introspection did him little good. "I know that this was carried to an excess--leading to a morbid sensibility--vanity and selfishness."⁸¹

The move to Princeton did not stir him from his melancholy--in fact, he seemed decidedly worse from the moment he arrived. His first letter home from Princeton, "a melancholic stream," in his words, painted, he supposed, "a pretty blue picture." "Walking does not rouse my spirits," he reported. "I have nothing to do, which is an infallible precursor of the Blues."

By the end of his first day in Princeton, his "curious psychological phenomenon" had degraded into a "nameless and unpronounceable wretchedness." "What strange freaks the mind gets into sometimes!" he exclaimed, worrying that his new friends "would not understand and who knows but I might be taken up for insane sometime."⁸²

Being plunged into activity helped break his melancholy spirits for a few weeks, but by the end of his first month, he was dreading the return of his depression, which he sensed was upon him. "I am expecting one of those 'crazy' fits will be on about tomorrow, so that I shall be down in the mouth," he wrote his parents. I can endure

⁸¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 4, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

⁸² Letter from Basil to Parents, May 9, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

bodily pain, but when my strength of mind is gone--and I give up--it's a rather "all-overish" sort of feeling.⁸³

Few letters from the year between the Springs of 1845 and 1846 have survived, and possibly Basil's spirits lifted. In any event, a year later they were once more filled with a melancholic mood. "You seem to be much concerned at the reading of gloom which some of my late letters speak of," he would write in late May of 1846. "But when I write, I write just as I feel--if I feel blue my letters are blue--if I am lively and jocose so are they."⁸⁴

The first indication of Basil's depression from 1846 available is a private letter which he sent to his father through Thomas F. Curtis, the pastor of the family's church in Tuskalooosa.⁸⁵ "I write to you privately," Basil began, "because I wish to present some ideas which perhaps would be misapprehended by Mother and make her uneasy." He complained mostly of fatigue and that "my mental operations are very seriously restricted in energy and activity." Despite forcing himself to spend time in exercise--walking, riding, and sawing wood--he felt no increase in his physical stamina.

⁸³ It is unclear whether Basil meant that the feeling was "all over" him, or if he felt as if things were "all over." The phrase "I give up" indicates the latter, although either would fit with melancholic feelings. Letter from Basil to Parents, May 23, 1845, SBCHA Folder 1.

⁸⁴ The implication is that his letters had not been melancholic for a period of time previous. Letter from Basil to Parents, Princeton, May 19-June 2, 1846, BMF.

⁸⁵ Letter from Basil to Father, Princeton, March 26, 1846, BMF. The envelope reads, "Will Mr. Curtis be so kind as to hand this to him privately at the first opportunity."

Moreover, Basil felt isolated from his friends by his incapacitating dejection.⁸⁶ Determining one night "that I would not stay moping in my room any longer," he thought of visiting friends, but decided not to "because I felt it would be impudence to ask anybody to do anything for me and I felt an invincible repugnance to carrying the shadow of darkness which I was sure I must cast upon any society I entered--into the midst of any of my little circle of friends." Moreover, should he go visiting, "I should first have to shave, and that I can't call up energy to do." In addition to his melancholy, he was becoming increasingly anxious. "I am nervous. Anything upsets me....I am thrown off my hinges by any harsh sound, by any slip or sudden accident."⁸⁷ Basil insisted that "I am prostrated neither physically nor mentally" and added that "I have a great part got over it already, or I could not have been equal to the mental exertion of writing this letter. But," he feared, "it has left its garrison in the fortress, and may return at any time."⁸⁸

Basil, Sr., was so concerned with his son's "mental malady" that he pleaded with him to come home. "We have perceived in your letters," the father stated rather firmly at the outset of the letter, "a tendency of your mind to prey upon itself." The father did not send mere platitudes about cheering up; he took seriously his son's difficulties. "There is something morbid about your feelings--and I think the cause ought to be searched out,

⁸⁶ Apparently, the Baptists were more likely to gather together than the others; the wife of Archibald Alexander noted "that she knew the Baptist students better than the Presbyterians because they were 'more inclined to be sociable'." Calhoun, 336.

⁸⁷ Letter from Basil to Father, Princeton, March 26, 1846, BMF.

⁸⁸ Letter from Basil to Father, March 26, 1846, BMF.

and the evil corrected, forthwith. But I have great confidence," he hastened to add, "in the firmness, soundness, and recuperative energies of your mind."

The elder Manly described Basil's melancholy vividly, perhaps drawing on his own experience with the malady. "Those moody feelings which have been preying upon you like Vampyres for some time past . . . [have] driven you almost to the verge of madness and destruction. . . . It comes like a troop of hungry wolves and attacks you on every side." Basil, his father feared, was under the threat of "desperation and madness and internal, immitigable self-reproaches" which could lead only to disaster.⁸⁹

The father began with a pastoral approach to his son's difficulties. He assured Basil that melancholy was not itself a sinful condition. The teaching of the New Testament was clear--when believers "have been to Christ," sin no longer has total control over them. Since melancholy had gained a total control over Basil, it therefore could not be sin.⁹⁰ His feelings of unworthiness ought not to be a part of his Christian life, however. By accepting "identification with Christ," the righteousness of Christ had filled his life, and God no longer saw evil when he examined Basil's soul. Neither should Basil, in such a "morbid" way, but only in such a way that he could deal positively with whatever shortcomings he found in himself.

⁸⁹ Letter from Father to Basil, May 19, 1846, UAL.

⁹⁰ Basil, Sr., here is at odds with much of the Christian tradition. For a historical discussion of melancholy as sin, and its omission from the Deadly Sins (dropping their number to seven), see Donald Capps, The Depleted Self: Sin in a Narcissistic Age (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 41-43.

After these comforting words, Basil, Sr., grew, perhaps unwisely, a bit more harsh. "I think you may have acquired a sort of pre-aptitude to a morbid condition of the feelings by a fondness for stories, romances, novels--all imaginary things that could deeply excite one. I was never at leisure enough for those things," his father said thankfully; "I bless God for it."

Having established the underlining cause, Basil, Sr., moved on to what he saw as the precipitating cause, although he attacked a symptom of Basil's despair, not its cause..."Now, being constitutionally debauched in this way, the immediate irritating cause, I guess, is nothing more nor less than your habit of biting your nails.

Years ago, I foresaw the utter disgust and self-loathing you would feel if you should awake from the unaccountable apathy or infatuation you were under in that manner, and work on it [to stop the biting] with the matured judgment of a man about to take a part among sensible men. I therefore strove to prevent it [the biting], by every strong representation I could employ. Finding that unavailing, I long left off to say anything about; leaving the cure to that sharp remedy which I saw your advancing maturity and good sense were providing. . . .

Well, it has come at last--it has found you in an open field--in a state of sensitivity and excitability--that makes you feel every blow to the depth of your sensations. . . . After I knew your love of deep imaginary excitements--so I foresaw how it would be. . . .

Basil, Sr., pointed out that, with this diagnosis, recovery seemed quite possible, if only Basil would stop biting his nails. "But now, remember the cure of all this--it is just to get rid of that habit--the cure, how easy! Just quit the habit--and there is an end of it. . . . Wear gloves--night and day. . . . Put a muzzle over your mouth--just quit it." "It is possible," warned his father, "that your fingers may never have their natural symmetry . . .

a standing evidence of the evil of your trifling and foolish habits, formed in youth. . . . If your hands are disfigured, they may yet do good." The father concluded with more caring words. "I dread this summer, if you cannot get tranquil and happy. In fact, unless you can assure us that you are so, you must come home."⁹¹

One apparent trigger of this depressive episode was a mistaken understanding of the college rules--Manly feared that because he had not been at Princeton for the first year of seminary, he would not qualify for a diploma. Perhaps because his father had mistakenly advised him the year before that "the two courses do not probably fit into each other" and that Basil would "be retarded a year" in his seminary studies, he had assumed that his three years of theological study would not be officially recognized.⁹² Perhaps he was too embarrassed to ask. But by the end of May, 1846, he had spoken to the seminary authorities and learned that he would, after all, receive a diploma on completing his studies. This lightened his mood, but he feared the return of his melancholy--"whenever it comes over me . . . it depresses me into the depths of despondency."⁹³

By the end of his vacation tour of New York in June, his mood had swung radically upward. "I must have you to supply all the vacancies between the letters (and they are not very many) with duplicated images of Basil smiling at everything and enjoying everything--something like the little Cupids and dancing boys and girls with

⁹¹ Letter from Father to Basil, May 19, 1846, UAL.

⁹² Letter from Father to Basil, March 24, 1845, UAL.

⁹³ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 19-June 2, 1846, BMF.

which the old illuminated manuscripts have their interstices crowded. About this business of being crazy," Basil added, "I have got clear out of the notion of it. . . . By the help of God I can overcome and will overcome: and the first means I shall use is to say nothing about it."⁹⁴

The start of the next academic year--Basil's last at Princeton--brought new activities which at first promised to occupy his mind and keep him from the effects of his melancholy. The pressure of reviewing Hebrew, much of which this future professor of Old Testament studies had forgotten, and his new work as a tract distributor and as a Sunday School superintendent, absorbed much of his time.⁹⁵ "I have not had any serious trouble with despondency this session," he wrote his parents, "not that it has not attacked me, but that I have driven it off as an excrescence, a dangerous and wrong thing." As proof of his recovery, he offered his parents as evidence, "my partial victory in regarding to biting my nails has given me more confidence in myself, yet not exactly in myself, but in God."⁹⁶

Throughout his last year at Princeton, Basil wrestled with the decision of what he would do after he graduated. In September of 1846, he received "the very first direct

⁹⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, June 20, 1846. BMF

⁹⁵ "Now if you don't think I am pretty busy--I should like you to give a definition of a busy man." Letter from Basil to Parents, September 21, 1846, BMF. Although the colporter work required only "1/2 day monthly," the Sunday School at Penn's Neck required a large commitment of time.

⁹⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 26, 1846, BMF.

offer I have had of a chance to make a living"--a Tutorship at Columbian College in Washington, D.C.⁹⁷ Basil declined the position because not only was the salary below what he expected, but because "I expect to commence my labors in the South West where I expect to spend my days."⁹⁸ When the position was again offered to him the next month, he instead recommended a friend from the University of Alabama, Jonathan L. Dagg.⁹⁹

The excitement and honor of being offered the position, however, soon led to a confused state of mind. In relating his first refusal of the Columbian offer to his parents, he concluded a summary of his reasons for not accepting it by saying, "On the other hand, I am anxious to set about something which shall give me a living, as soon as possible."¹⁰⁰ Two days later, the same day in which he first refused the offer, Basil wrote a lengthy letter to his parents which outlined his thoughts concerning his future.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 26, 1846, BMF. Columbian College, then a Baptist institution, was the earlier name of what is now George Washington University, no longer connected to the Baptist denominations. ESB, s.v. "Columbian College."

⁹⁸ Basil also added that he believed his call to be to pastoral ministry. Letter to Rev. J. S. Bacon, D.D., September 28, 1846, BMF.

⁹⁹ Letter from Basil to Rev. J. S. Bacon D.D., November 18, 1846, BMF. Jonathan Dagg was likely a long-time friend of Basil's, since the Dagg family lived in Tuscaloosa from 1836 to 1844. John Leadley Dagg, Jonathan's father, was President of the Alabama Female Athenaeum in that city. Basil Manly, Sr., arranged for an honorary Doctorate of Divinity for Dagg from the University of Alabama in 1843. ESB, s.v. "Dagg, John Leadley."

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 26, 1846, BMF.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 28, 1846, BMF.

First, Basil assured them that “my business for life is to preach the gospel.” While taking that as “my general duty--and the main duty of my life,” Basil did not exclude other occupations, listing teaching the sciences or metaphysics and writing literature as possibilities.

Basil listed first among his goals a position where he would have time for “much relaxation of mind and body”--one which “would combine something of the practical duties of a minister with somewhat of the leisure of the student.” He intended to devote “the first 6 or 8 years” to the study of Greek and Hebrew, systematic theology, “practical sermonizing,” and “last and least of German.” Moreover, he desired a salary “about 100.00 a year over expenses” for the purchase of books. Concluding, he desired a position where he would “take a high stand in my profession not for reason of ambition but because I believe I have talents which if properly cultivated will enable me to do so.”

Accepting a Tutorship position did not seem to fit the goals Basil had set out for himself. First, he did not have “any peculiar aptness or fondness for communicating instruction by the drilling methods necessary in school or colleges.” Such a position “would take up much of my time” with “many petty annoyances and trials of patience.” In addition, “after all it does not add to a man’s respectability near so much as an equal amount of talent and understanding expressed in any other way.”

Basil moved to a discussion of possible pastorates after graduation. While admitting to “idealizing here and building castles in the air at a larger rate,” he pictured the perfect first pastorate as “some charge in a country town . . . a somewhat uncivilized

sort of a place” where he could focus his attention on “making clear to simple people the essentials of Christianity, and producing less formal and more pinchy kind of a [sermonic] style.” Recognizing that this could breed “a careless slipshod method of sermonizing,” he altered this dream to a “medium sort of position” where he “could be rude and rough and plain as I chose in prayer meetings--and yet obliged to present on Sabbaths a well studied discourse” which “could be well understood and appreciated.”¹⁰²

Writing to his son, Basil Manly, Sr., suggested the premier pastoral position in the South, his own former pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Charleston. This seemed hardly the position to suggest to a young man of such low self-image; certainly, it sparked a level of melancholic self-doubt lower than any in Basil Jr.’s seminary experience.

His reply to his father’s suggestion reveals the level of self-criticism to which he had sunk.

“I feel now most decidedly as if I could not take such a responsibility. . . . I have not insight and energy and tact and personal influence. . . . I am cold, phlegmatic, and can’t lead in anything. . . . I can’t undertake to lead my own thoughts. . . . I am a proud enthusiastic, solitary dreamer. . . . I am lame, powerless, inefficient, confused, and do not have command of my faculties. . . . I am cautious in my steps and proceedings and need trial to gain in confidence. . . . A pastor of a church like that must be the master spirit in it and that I can’t be . . .”¹⁰³

Moreover, should Basil take the position, there would be a “special objection”—there “would be constantly an unfavorable comparison between your labor (which you

¹⁰² Letter from Basil to Parents, September 28, 1846, BMF.

¹⁰³ Letter from Basil to Father, October 19, 1846, BMF.

know was not only different in quality but far more abundant than I in my habits and constitution could undertake) and mine. . . . I could not hope to preach as you did--and if I did not, could not stand in your shoes."¹⁰⁴

Basil concluded this self-flagellation, "I see my own deficiencies now in such a light that I would shrink from anything more than the humblest line of labor. . . . I feel anxious to get to work in some way. Here I do not feel as if I am doing good to anybody."¹⁰⁵ This exchange with his father seems to have been the trigger of a severe depressive episode. Certainly the pressures of his school work, concerns over his abilities, and uncertainty over his future exasperated his feelings of depression.

Few letters survive from the Fall term; judging from his parents' concern, few were written. In early November, Basil expressed to his parents the "keen sense" and "sober fact" of his moral unfitness for the work [of the ministry]" and his "intellectual deficiency" which would limit his pastoral work. The intellectual weaknesses he saw in himself were his lesser worries; "there are times when these trouble me," he wrote, "but I quiet them by the consideration that I have some sort of intellect and a mouth to talk with, and may, with the help of the Lord, be at least a hewer of wood and a drawer of water to the hosts of the Lord."¹⁰⁶ The "moral" problems, though, pestered him; "the feeling

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ The reference is to the Old Testament; the phrase "hewer of wood and drawer of water" refers to a foreign-born slave of the Hebrews.

becomes more and more intense, for it seems to me I am becoming more unfit daily. . . . I feel less relish for, and enjoy less of, religion than I did one, two, or three years ago.”

Basil closed the letter, “I do beseech you to unite with me in fervent prayer for the soul’s health of your feeble, faithless, yet faintly hoping son. . . . O Parents, pray for me—with a strong supplication of faith that will not be denied—for I stand nigh unto the wrath of God.”¹⁰⁷ Basil’s almost puritanical jeremiad against himself continued in a letter to his parents five days later: “I feel unworthy to be named at all in the congregation of God’s people. . . . Oh flee with me from the wrath to come, the wrath to come, the wrath to come. . . . Oh Lord, help!”¹⁰⁸

The fullest account of Basil’s depression in the fall of 1846 is a letter he wrote to his father after the worst of the episode had passed, attempting to put his father’s—and especially his mother’s—mind at rest.¹⁰⁹ The letter is important because it is one of the few examples of Basil’s attempting to explain his melancholy to another person, and is worthy of close examination.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 1, 1846, BMF.

¹⁰⁸ “Oh God—am I, so burthened with sins, to warn them of their sins? Am I, who am in such imminent danger, so faithless and worthless, to exhort them to flee from the same danger? . . . Perhaps in trying to show them the way to Jesus I may find comfort myself.” Letter from Basil to Parents, November 6, 1846, BMF.

¹⁰⁹ Another letter from the fall of 1846 may shed some light on Basil’s condition; in it, he expressed a number of rather trivial complaints about spelling. Concerning one of his sister Abby’s letters to him: “The only mistake of any consequence which I noticed is the misspelling of the word Arthur, which is spelled Arther,” and complaints about typographical mistakes in a printed sermon of Curtis’. Letter from Basil to Parents, November 22, 1846, BMF.

Basil began by apologizing for the morbid tone of his letters home, "for your being deluged with the bile which my despondency and gloom discharge." He felt alienated at Princeton--"I do not have any one here to whom I speak or feel like speaking about these things"--and "this awful mail" was his only outlet. "When I am gloomy I always look home for sympathy etc."

Basil's disjointed attempt to explain his emotions is worth recording at length, since it reveals the frustrating effort of communicating about his mental state:

Now there are to me (I know not how it is with others, or with you) constant incessitudes of feelings--transitions from a state of unconscious life, if I may call it such, i.e. a life in which I live, move, act, yet am utterly insensible to the realities around me--to the things which I feel, when in me senses which have the most reality--(perhaps indeed the only real things by which we are surrounded) I mean the things which are unseen and eternal--: transitions from a state of existence (for life it can hardly be called) in which these things are, so far as I am concerned, as if they were not--to a state of wakeness, or sensibility to them. I feel then like a man then who wakes up rubbing his eyes--and finding where he is as to time and place--discovers that he has been asleep when he should be awake, and that he has lost irretrievably the opportunities which offered during his slumberous dreams.--Then comes self reproach. And resolution of amendments, but reproach alternates with resolution, "What is the point of my resolving? It can effect nothing." So the heart is torn, distracted, tosses hither to thither. I see that I have not succeeded in expressing here in words anything of the reality which is what oppresses me often--: and indeed I think it likely no one who had not felt just this thing would gather its nature from any description I might give.

Basil went on to outline his own understandings of the origins of his melancholy. His father had suggested that he might be suffering from a disease. Basil replied that "it is in one sense, that is, it arises from some violation of the laws of my nature," but preferred a moral explanation. He compared it to "the intoxication and senselessness of intemperance" which accompanied the breaking of other "laws of nature." His father had

offered another explanation: too much effort in studying. “I think you mistake altogether in attributing it to too hard work. It is exactly the absence of this,” Basil wrote, “that gives rise to it.” Nor, Basil claimed, did his depression arise from a comparison to the accomplishments of the other students at Princeton: “When I regard myself in relation to [other] men, I never feel greatly depressed. . . . It is only when I view myself in relation to God that I am so abased.”¹¹⁰ His melancholy “works not externally but internally,” arising, he believed, from a failure to achieve “a more perfect sanctification and a more abundant participation in the influence of the [Holy] Spirit which will then bring forth the fruits of the spirit.” This, Basil concluded, “is the plain state of the case.”

He admitted that his account of “my experiences of despondency and trouble” may have created an image of him “going about with haggard looks and wild eyes, a living embodiment of mental torture.” His melancholy, he claimed, would not be noticeable from his outward appearance, “even in its most violent exercises,” and was not affecting his physical health. Although he confessed that in “writing down the bitterness of my heart’s most gloomy moments. . . I have done wrong--I will do it no more,” he argued to his father that his mother’s “naturally nervous temperament” and “sympathy” had caused her to take a view of him which was “excessive,” even “morbid.” Basil was perhaps feeling so much better that he came to the realization that his pleas for sympathy from his parents had instead brought a pity which wounded his honor. “I think Mother in

¹¹⁰ Basil did allow himself the complaint that he would have risen higher in the seminary “had I been a Presbyterian, and had I entered here at first, and had I allowed myself to be known to the students generally.” Letter from Basil to Parents, December 1, 1846, BMF.

her anxiety for me misconceives my character.--I feel that I am not a mere boy. . . . I am not the sickly, feeble, pitiable b. that Mother's fears cause her perhaps to fancy me."¹¹¹

As his letter indicated, his mood was dramatically improving. On December 10, Basil related a rather detailed dream to his parents in which he was a "Professor of History Somewhere" and "hundreds of students flocked around the bureau of the young Professor and all hung on his lips with singular and rapt attention." The "fascinated" students listened to this "living flame" of a professor with "remarkable interest" and "transfixed eyes." "I taught a Bible class," he wrote, "inculcated, disputed, answered objections, unraveled difficulties with most marvelous skill--overcame the prejudices of the doubting and heterodox--Oh it was a wonderful scene."¹¹² A few days later, Basil reported that he was experiencing "a holy rest of which night's silent, still grandeur is but the type--through which stars brighten their orbs and spangle the heavens, and a moon of a purer ray moves on trailing glory after them in their course and shining into my heart a

¹¹¹ "b." apparently stands for boy. "I feel that I am not a mere boy, but that even now to some extent stand and act among men. . . . Under ordinary circumstances, I can shoulder the wheel with the next man." Letter from Basil to Father, December 1, 1846, BMF. (This letter was also sent privately through Curtis at Tuscaloosa church.) Basil was apparently sensitive about his treatment as a child because he was approaching his twenty-first birthday, a birthday which he welcomed but which also caused a small dip in his mood: "To morrow is my birthday and the day of my arriving at man's estate in the eyes of the law. Alas, the days as they fly seem to leave little good behind them which will spring up--but only unsightly tracks of foul birds--painful to look at.--I am older than my years, yet younger than my opportunities.--I stand at 21 where many at 23 or 24 are--; but how much higher might I have been in intellect, in knowledge, in piety!" Letter from Basil to Parents, December 18, 1846, BMF.

¹¹² Letter from Basil to Parents, December 10, 1846, BMF.

beam of the most blissful radiance.” Such an experience “tunes my soul to harmonize with the music of the spheres.”¹¹³

As Basil approached his graduation from Princeton in the Spring term of 1847, he remained in high spirits, joking about the honors which would soon come to him.¹¹⁴ While occasionally a mild melancholy would return--“I feel very much dish-raggish this afternoon. . . . But as it is, one day up, and the other down”--he seems to have looked forward to the challenges of the next stage of his life.

The day came to leave Princeton. “Despite all my theoretical stoicism,” Basil wept. He well might have. His first post would call his misgivings about his abilities to resurface; as in a self-fulfilling prophecy, he would soon leave that post, discouraged and uncertain about his future.

¹¹³ Letter from Basil to Parents, December 13, 1846, BMF.

¹¹⁴ “By the way, am I not about ripe for my A.M. I tell you what, I shall begin to feel suffocated with my blushing honors. Think upon me. . . shall I resume an air of nonchalance, and while they are laying on the flattery thick, stand fast like a tom cat when you grease his back . . . or . . . dance in the ecstasy of the laudatory tickle?” The ellipsis are Basil’s. Letter from Basil to Parents, January 4, 1847, BMF. Basil was awarded the A.M. as an honorary degree from the University of Alabama in that year, but seems not to have ever appended it to his name. Basil Manly, Sr., Diary, July 12, 1847, UAL. Later in the Spring semester, Basil made light of the fact that he had “been unanimously elected--Honorary Member!!!--of the!!! Cice!ro!!!!!!nean!!!! So!!!!!!ci!!e!!ty!!!! of Mercer University, Penfield Georgia.” “They have got some funny words stuck over the top of the letter.” Letter from Basil to Parents, May 15, 1847, BMF.

CHAPTER 4
“WAITING FOR FUTURE GREATNESS:” THE YOUNG PASTOR AND HYMNAL
EDITOR

There are scanty records of the first three years after Basil left Princeton. Living near (and often with) his parents, he had little need to write letters; in addition, only the scantiest of diaries has survived.¹ Apparently, the first offer of a pastorate was made to Basil in September of 1847, four months after he left Princeton. The esteemed First Baptist Church of New Orleans issued an invitation to several ministers across the South—including not only Basil Manly, Jr., but his father, Basil, Sr., and his pastor, T. F. Curtis, as well—to apply for a “temporary supply” position.² Basil was first notified of the interest in him by a letter from J. H. DeVotie, an Alabama minister, who informed him of the opening at the New Orleans church.³

¹ A “Jottings Down” book from the period exists, but entries in it are often more than a year apart. BMF.

² A “temporary supply” position would involve providing pastoral care for a congregation while a search for a permanent pastor was made; the offer of a temporary position was often an implicit trial period in which the temporary supply in effect was a candidate for the permanent position itself. The phrase appears in a Letter from First Baptist Church of New Orleans to undisclosed recipient, October 5, 1847, BMF. Apparently this is a copy of the original which was sent to Basil by an interested party.

³ The letter is mentioned in Basil’s diary but apparently is now lost; “Jottings Down,” September 1847, BMF.

Basil, Sr., was immediately filled with pride, bragging to his cousin Kenelin Taylor that Basil would be going to New Orleans “to preach in that great city.”⁴ Basil himself was not so certain. The first response in his diary after receiving the letter was to note his “doubt whether I was fitted for the place.” That the offer had been made to two men close to him, his father and his pastor, also led Basil not to take an interest in the offer: “In my case no doubt many would wonder and find fault, and ‘despise me on account of my youth.’”⁵ Moreover, Basil had little interest in serving in a city with the “peculiar disease” of New Orleans; “the wickedness of the wicked would be manifesting itself in its most unrestrained and seductive forms--license and immorality having rule throughout the whole city.” Claiming (rather disingenuously) a “lack of time,” Basil refused to consider the offer seriously--until he received a far less prestigious call.⁶

Basil had traveled to several rural churches to preach, one of which was the Baptist Church in Providence, Sumter County, Alabama. On December 7, 1847, the

⁴ Letter from Basil, Sr., to Kenelin Taylor, September 24, 1847, UAL. Kenelin, later spelling his name Canellum) was the grandfather of Robert Zachary Taylor, the governor of Tennessee who is immortalized in a short story by Kenelin’s great-great-grandson, Peter Taylor, “In the Miro District.” *In the Miro District and Other Stories*. (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 157-204. In telling the story, Peter Taylor replaces Robert Taylor’s name with “Basil Manley.” “One of my forebears was Basil Manley (one of the founders of Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina).” Peter Taylor in J. William Broadway, “A Conversation with Peter Taylor,” in Hubert H. McAlexander, *Conversations with Peter Taylor* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1987), 88.

⁵ “Jottings Down,” September 1847, BMF. Ironically, the line is quoted from I Timothy, which begins “Let no man despise you on account of your youth.”

⁶ “Jottings Down,” September 1847, BMF.

Providence church issued a call to Basil “to go in and out before us and lead us in the way of life everlasting.” Basil had been unanimously chosen “in conference” to be offered the position of Pastor at “a salary of \$500 per annum for half your time.” Asking him to assume the pulpit “the second sabbath in January next,” the pulpit committee desired “an immediate answer to this.”

The letter itself revealed the unsophisticated, simple style of those country churches Basil had earlier claimed to dream of pastoring. New Orleans now seemed a much better opportunity, and three months after hearing of the New Orleans church’s interest in him, Basil began to seriously consider taking the position there.

In contrast to the Providence church, “the extent and importance of the work” in New Orleans deserved the top position on Basil’s list of reasons to accept the offer. Moreover, “the fact that I [am] disengaged” and “the apparent conviviality and anxiety” of the New Orleans pulpit committee drew him to accept the offer. However, despite the fact that “relations and connections and the name I have would give me a sort of start and right which another young man equal in every other respect could not possess,” Basil argued to himself that “I am not qualified for the post. . . . I lack age and experience.” Moreover, “if I were even supposed competent to all this, I am certainly not so now, enfeebled and broken down as I am in health.”⁷ His father reported that Basil also feared

⁷ “Jottings Down,” December 14, 1847, BMF. It is not clear whether Basil refers to his emotional or physical health.

the responsibility of writing "several sermons a week" which a city church would require.⁸

In the midst of this decision came Basil's birthday, which had by now become an annual celebration of all his shortcomings. "I am 22 years of age. Oh my God how little do I grow. . . . I look back upon my past life and the hours seem trooping after me an ominous host to reproach me with their murder." He lamented that after "three years and a half in the gospel ministry," he could count "not one soul converted." Instead, he appeared to himself to be simply "waiting for future greatness" instead of "actively doing present good." He resolved to pray for "the choice of a wife" and to no longer read "this light chaffy religious literature which is floating about on a sea of newspapers," but to read such theological heavyweights as Jonathan Edwards and the French Calvinist Turretin instead.⁹

Apparently, he also resolved to find some position ranking between the lowly offer from Providence and the lofty offer from New Orleans. An inquiry from Tallahassee, Florida, raised his hopes, but a recent fire at the church would mean that Basil would be spending a great deal of time raising funds, an activity he had little taste for.¹⁰ A day after refusing the offer from Tallahassee, he accepted the offer from

⁸ Basil Manly, Sr., Diary 2, January 19, 1848, UAL.

⁹ "Jottings Down," December 19, 1847, BMF. Basil celebrated his birthday in Clifton, Madison County, Florida.

¹⁰ Letter from Basil to Rev. William B. Johnson, D.D., Tallahassee, December 25, 1847, BMF; Letter from Basil to Jas. E. Browne, January 13, 1848, BMF. Basil also feared the

Providence.¹¹ He agreed to accept \$500 a year, not including his board, in return for preaching two sermons a month.¹²

On January 29, 1848, Basil met with his father and Thomas F. Curtis, along with the deacons of the Tuskaloosa church, to be examined on his "Christian experience, his call to the ministry, his views of doctrine, of church order and discipline, etc." Having passed the examination, the Princeton graduate preached to them on the theme, "Let him who boasts boast in the Lord." The examination board approved of the content, style, and delivery of the sermon, and the next day ordained him as a Christian minister, following the sermon and charge delivered by Basil, Sr.¹³

Within fifteen months Basil had left both Providence and two other charges, one in Alabama and one in Mississippi. While the details of his pastorates are sketchy--quite possibly Basil pastored all three at the same time--the rapid move through the churches reveals some level of unhappiness, either on the part of Basil or of his congregations, or perhaps both. A report to Basil, Sr., from a friend who had heard Basil speak gives some

effect on his reputation of creating his own "settlement," Basil Manly, Sr., "Diary II", January 19, 1848, UAL.

¹¹ Letter from Basil to P. S. Cromwell, L. Oliver, and W. H. Hibbler, Committee of the Providence Church, Tuskaloosa, January 12, 1848. Basil apparently received offers from Columbia, South Carolina, and Galveston, Texas, as well. Basil Manly, Sr., "Diary II", January 18, 1848.

¹² Basil Manly, Sr., "Diary II", January 19, 1848, UAL.

¹³ Basil Manly, Sr., "Diary II," January 29, 1848, UAL. Basil, Jr.'s sermon was taken from I Corinthians 1:30-31.

indication of his pulpit ability. While assuring the proud father that Basil's "attainments are evidently accurate and intensive for his age," and that he clearly had a "gentle, pious, affectionate nature," he did suffer from a "want of spirit in delivery" in the pulpit. "The people, other wise gratified, cried out, 'too little animation--too little animation!'" Basil, Sr., did not hesitate to pass this report on to his son.¹⁴ He had himself warned his son earlier that his sermon style showed "the stiffness of Theological school."¹⁵

The family's own history of this period in Basil's life, generally followed by historians, contains enough discrepancies to suggest that Manly may have had an emotional breakdown. The standard explanation given by Basil himself was that his "health" had broken down; he had already developed this term as a euphemism for his severe melancholic episodes. Louise Manly, Basil's daughter, states that Basil's health had "suffered from too close application" to study; in the next line, without noting the paradox, she writes that he found employment during the week working in a local saw mill.¹⁶ Had he been too physically ill to preach, it seems that he would have been too ill

¹⁴ Letter from Father to Basil, November 1, 1847, UAL, quoting a letter received by Basil, Sr., from Teague. On Teague's relationship with Basil, Sr., see A. James Fuller, "Chaplain to the Confederacy: A Biography of Basil Manly, 1798-1868" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Miami University, 1995), 186-188.

¹⁵ Letter from Father to Basil, September 28, 1847, UAL. Basil was visiting friends in Charleston.

¹⁶ Manly, The Manly Family, 198.

for the mill work. In any event, whatever specifically made him uncomfortable or unacceptable in Providence, Basil left the church in January, 1849.¹⁷

Clearly, Basil was in a crisis concerning his professional life; “his plans for his future,” his father noted in his diary, “have yet to be formed.”¹⁸ As Basil saw it, he had three choices: to accept a more “suitable location” for pastoral work; to spend a year traveling “in the North West, or in Texas, or Europe;” or “to enter into some secular business.” Basil wrote that he held “specially a feeling for the latter which seems to possess some advantage;” yet his lack of a settled future led him to desperate thoughts. “To pass much more time in this haphazard, uncertain, hesitating kind of way. . . all my plans and objects in the future in this world. . . undefined and floating at loose ends. . . to live much longer so is wrong--is ruinous--the character of a person who doesn’t know his own mind [is an] indecisive, idling, unstable kind of thing.”¹⁹

By now 23 years old, Basil’s mind had for some time been tuned to thoughts of potential marriage partners. Basil had taken copious notes when Dr. Alexander had lectured at Princeton on the “Qualifications for a Good Wife.”²⁰ First, of course, “she

¹⁷ Basil Manly, Jr., Sermon File, SSA; Basil Manly, Sr., “Diary II,” February 2, 1849, UAL.

¹⁸ Basil Manly, Sr., “Diary 2,” February 2, 1849, UAL.

¹⁹ “Jottings Down,” March 14, 1849, BMF. Basil did travel widely that Spring, going to Nashville and Charleston. Basil Manly, Sr., Diary 2, April 20, 1849, UAL.

²⁰ The lectures on wives came toward the end of the term. Alexander went on to tell his students “how to treat your wife when married.” Basil Manly, Jr., “Notes on Dr. Alexander’s Lectures on the Subject of Pastoral Theology,” Princeton 1845, 320. SSA.

should be truly pious;" closely following the key requirement came her "good education and common sense," her "good temper," "prudence," and "industry." Secondly, she should have the ability to be a good teacher to the children and should be of "sound health and a good constitution." Finally, "it is generally convenient that she should possess some property--contemptible folly though to make this the end of any choice." As Basil surveyed potential mates, surely Alexander's guidelines influenced his thoughts.

In summer, 1849, Basil endured a romantic disappointment which added to his depressed condition. The Manly family never mentioned the heart-breaking event in the family correspondence; Basil himself made no diary entries concerning it.²¹ The story might well have been lost to time--except that just a few miles south of Tuskalooza, in Marion, Alabama, the event has acquired a legendary quality, becoming one of the most famous stories which the students of Judson College have told each other ever since. At the seventy-fifth anniversary "Jubilee" celebration of Judson College in 1913, in fact, the story was dramatized and performed as part of the centerpiece of the festivities. Interestingly enough, Basil's daughter, Louise Manly, failed to mention the legend in her history of Judson College published the same year--although, in yet another twist, the legend concerned both her father and her mother.²²

²¹ At least, no such mention survives or has been found.

²² "Procession of the Years: Some Episodes in Judson History," in *Conversational Club, The Conversationalist*, XV (Marion: Judson College, 1913); Louise Manly, *History of Judson College* (Marion: Judson College Press, 1913). Perhaps out of respect for Louise, a former faculty member and organizer of the Judson Jubilee, Basil is identified only as "Basil, the young preacher and prospective suitor" in the pageant performed that year.. The story is also recounted in the fiftieth anniversary of its occurrence in "Romance of

At some point in 1849, Basil, Sr., told his son about a remarkable young lady he had met at the Judson College in Marion, Alabama, Charlotte Ann Elizabeth Whitfield, and suggested that Basil meet her.²³ By all accounts, she was truly remarkable, and would have met with the approval of even Dr. Alexander himself. The Whitfield family historian pictures her at the time a “beautiful girl of seventeen and of medium height with much grace.” Her dark hair and eyes “blue and of wonderful expression,” her “gentle, sweet, and most fascinating” manners, and her knowledge of things “which were at the time thought proper for a girl to study” would have made her an admirable catch for the young minister.²⁴ Her letters to her guardian support the romanticized remembrances of her family, and in fact paint a picture of a young woman interested in more than the minimal topics “proper” for a girl’s education. She was fascinated by a series of lectures given in the town on electricity. When the course on “hard Science” was replaced by “Political Economy,” she seemed disappointed to replace this fascinating field with one

‘49,” The Conversationalist, II, 1899, 11. Louise Manly simply noted that Charlotte’s first marriage had been “romantic,” and does not tell the story. Manly, The Manly Family, 199.

²³ Emma Morehead Whitfield, compiler, and Theodore Marshall Whitfield, editor, Whitfield, Bryan, Smith, and Related Families, Book One, Whitfield (Westminster, Maryland: The Times, Inc., 1950), 223. Basil may well have already met Charlotte when he served on the Board of Visitors to Judson in 1847. Basil Manly, Sr., “Diary II,” August 1, 1847, UAL. Emma Whitfield was an alumnae of the Richmond Female Institute and may have known Charlotte well; in that case, her retelling of the story would carry even more weight. Emma Whitfield, “Introduction,” in Cassie M. Lyne, “Reminiscences of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Founding of Richmond Female Institute.” n.p., 1926.

²⁴ “Charlotte Ann Elizabeth Whitfield,” in Whitfield and Whitfield, p.222.

not as interesting and “much more difficult.”²⁵ Both of the two surviving school reports sent to her guardian show perfect scores not only in academic recitation but also in deportment--both in the school and in the boarding house.²⁶

On the death of George William Whitfield, Charlotte's father, she and her five brother and sisters had been made the wards of George's older brother, Nathan Bryan Whitfield, a politician and planter. Nathan, who inherited the title of Major General in the North Carolina Militia from his own father and passed it on to George when he left North Carolina for Alabama, owned a thousand acre plantation near Demopolis, Alabama, on which he began constructing “Gaineswood” in 1821, one of the most beautiful Southern manor houses built in the Greek Revival style.²⁷ At Gaineswood, Charlotte developed a musical talent of some refinement, another feature which must

²⁵ Letter from Charlotte to “Guardian,” [General Nathan Bryan Whitfield], December 16, 1848, Judson College Archives, hereinafter abbreviated JCA.

²⁶ Letter from Dr. Milo P. Jewett to General Nathan Bryan Whitfield, January 1849; Letter from Dr. Milo P. Jewett to General Nathan Bryan Whitfield, February 1849; both in JCA.

²⁷ “Nathan Bryan Whitfield” in Whitfield and Whitfield, 100; “Gaineswood: A National Historic Landmark,” tourist brochure, n.d., JCA; Jesse G. Whitfield, “Gaineswood and other Memories: The Finest Greek Revival Mansion in the South,” (Demopolis: n.p., 1938), JCA. Whitfield designed the home himself, and built the beautiful mansion around an existing home made of “hewn logs,” Whitfield and Whitfield, 101. Gaineswood is discussed in Robert Gamble, Historical Architecture in Alabama: A Primer of Styles and Types (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 3, 70, photographs and floorplan, 76-77.

have appealed to Basil; General Whitfield was an accomplished musician of his own, inventing several new musical instruments himself.²⁸

Apparently, Basil met and courted Charlotte through the summer of 1849. "Such a charming creature," however, "was sure to have many lovers."²⁹ One of Basil's rivals was Joseph Watson Smith, son of the founder of the town of Marion and a student at nearby Howard College.³⁰ There was yet a third rival--universally portrayed in the legends as the villain of the story. Despite the silver doorknobs and imported Greek statues of Gaineswood--or perhaps more likely, because of them--General Whitfield faced financial difficulties.³¹ His eye fell on the estate of his dead brother--and also on his niece, Charlotte. He apparently made no secret of his intentions to marry his niece shortly after her commencement from Judson in August, 1849.

Charlotte's commencement was also a target date for Basil, who would be serving in an official capacity as a member of the Board of Visitors which would examine the graduates and certify their education.³² At the reception following the ceremony, all the legends agree, he planned to present his intentions to her. Basil was certainly more

²⁸ Whitfield, "Gaineswood;" all accounts of Charlotte mention her musical ability.

²⁹ Whitfield and Whitfield, 222.

³⁰ Whitfield and Whitfield, 221, 222.

³¹ The 1850 census showed his property valued at \$50,000. Ten years later, however, it would be valued at \$402,000. Whitfield and Whitfield, 99.

³² Manly, History of Judson College, 28-29.

desirable than the man she addressed coldly as “Guardian,” and at least one legend presents her as impressed with Basil’s ministerial status.³³ The melancholy, unemployed young man, however, could not compete with the wealthy, romantic Joseph, who sent her “love letters on magnolia leaves thrown over the hedge.”³⁴ As the time of her commencement came nearer and Joseph learned of General Whitfield’s intentions, he insisted that Charlotte marry him before she returned to the control of her guardian. With the assistance of Dr. Lane of Howard College, he proposed to her the week before the ceremony and concocted a plan to remove her from her uncle’s control.³⁵

At the Judson Commencement, Charlotte delivered her graduation address, “The Heart of Woman, Her Sword and Shield.”³⁶ Her speech was followed by a hymn and a prayer, in the midst of which, while all in the audience had their heads bowed and their eyes closed, Charlotte and a friend “slipped from the platform” and made their way to the home of Thomas Barron, who was not only a friend of Joseph’s but the host of the annual reception for the graduates. There, by arrangement, waited Rev. J. H. DeVotie, ironically

³³ The sole letter available from Charlotte to General Whitfield addresses him thus. Letter from Charlotte to “Guardian,” [General Nathan Bryan Whitfield], December 16, 1848, Judson College Archives. “And he’s a preacher, too.” “Procession of the Years”, 48. Basil, Sr., identifies Charlotte’s father, George, as a “Baptist minister;” this may have also attracted Charlotte to Basil. Basil Manly, Sr., “Diary II,” April 26, 1852, UAL.

³⁴ “Romance of ‘49”, 11. The legends all emphasize the magnolia leaves. In the Whitfield family history, the understanding is that love letters sent through the mail would have been intercepted by the Judson authorities. Whitfield and Whitfield, 222.

³⁵ Whitfield and Whitfield, 222.

³⁶ Louise Manly, History of Judson College, 27.

a close friend of Basil's, who performed the marriage ceremony in the few minutes before the guests arrived from the commencement.³⁷ Among the first was Basil himself, eagerly asking after Charlotte.³⁸ The 1913 dramatization captures at least the emotion of the moment. "Permit me to introduce you to the bride," the hostess answers Basil's inquiries. To the young man's shocked reaction, Dr. Lane replies, "You are a little too late young man--a little too late."³⁹

The remainder of 1849 Basil spent in "comparative secularization." As his birthday once more returned he lamented his "cold and wicked heart." "I am now 24 years of age. Where am I, what am I now, as compared with the last year?" His health had improved; he had spent much time in reading and study; yet the "varied and irregular nature of my employment" had taken much of his spiritual energy. As Basil reviews his last year, one is struck by a sense of boredom; no clear purpose appeared to his view.⁴⁰

About the time of this twenty-fourth birthday, Basil began compiling a hymnal, the first of several which he would edit in his life. The standard Baptist hymnal of the day

³⁷ Whitfield and Whitfield, 222; "Progression of the Years," 48. The 1913 dramatization offers one explanation of how this disappearance was accomplished without detection by presenting Charlotte as moving "modestly" behind the other standing girls after her speech and before her escape.

³⁸ Two of the legends independently picture Basil thus; Whitfield and Whitfield, 223; "Progression of Years," 48.

³⁹ "Progression of Years," 48. The Whitfield legend has him "astounded," Whitfield and Whitfield, 223. Two legends portray Nathan Whitfield as furious; "Romance of '49," 11; "Progression of the Years," 49.

⁴⁰ Jottings Down, December 20, 1849, BMF.

was The Psalmist, published in 1843 by the American Baptist Publishing Society and edited by two Baptist ministers in Massachusetts.⁴¹ Reflecting Northern tastes in hymnody, the book proved unpopular in the South.⁴² Basil had certainly not approved of it while at Newton, writing to his father that it was entirely unsatisfactory⁴³.

Although his father lent his name to the project, and considerable advice as well, Basil, Jr., was responsible for nearly the entire project. For “3 or 4 months” out of his sixteen-month hiatus from the ministry, Basil was “occupied. . .very engrossingly” in the effort of composing, selecting, arranging, and editing the hymn book.⁴⁴

The Baptist Psalmody was published by the Southern Baptist Publication Society in 1850, and for the next several decade served as the hymnal of choice for the Southern Baptist Convention. Among the 1,295 hymns in the collection are nine by Basil, Jr., himself.⁴⁵ The organization of the hymnal differed from many hymnals of the day. Basil, Jr., “bestow[ed] a good deal of pains on the arrangement of the hymns in a

⁴¹ Baron Stow and Samuel Francis Smith, ed., The Psalmist: A New Collection of Hymns for the Use of Baptist Churches (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln for the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society, 1843).

⁴² Harry L. Eskew, “Southern Baptist Contributions to Hymnody,” in Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson, ed. Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1998), 195.

⁴³ “The Psalmist don’t suit us, that is clear.” Letter from Basil to Father, May 9, 1845, SBCHA folder 1.

⁴⁴ “Jottings Down,” April 12, 1850, BMF.

⁴⁵ Henry S. Burrage, Baptist Hymn Writers and their Hymns (Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Company, 1888), 658.

systematic textual order and in the provision of complete indexes both of subjects and Scriptures, especially the latter.”⁴⁶ The “systematic textual order” relied on the Calvinistic systematic theology of the editors.⁴⁷ The index of Scripture references was included to aid a pastor in the selection of hymns; nearly every text from which he might draw a sermon was represented by an appropriate hymn.⁴⁸

With the conclusion of the hymnal, Basil found himself “undecided and wavering still--yet now decided, not to remain undecided much longer.” He “had begun to feel that the future was walled up” to him, “with no opening ahead.” In April, 1850, however, he determined to fix a future course of action. At once, several openings were offered to him “for comparison and decision.”⁴⁹

Basil was offered the “Superintendence of the S[unday] S[chool] Mission Labor in Alabama” by the American Sunday School Union, a position which he noted in his diary but apparently did not seriously consider. The possibility of returning to pastoral work he also mentioned, but another opportunity more clearly excited him with its prospects. A Professorship in Modern Languages at the University of Alabama was offered to Basil, apparently through the efforts of his father, the president of the

⁴⁶ Letter from Basil to A. M. Poindexter, January 21, 1850, cited in Paul A. Richardson, “Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody,” in Eskew *et al.*, *Singing Baptists*, 98.

⁴⁷ Fuller, 200.

⁴⁸ Richardson, “Basil Manly, Jr.,” 98-99.

⁴⁹ “Jottings Down,” April 12, 1850, BMF.

university. This position promised much to Basil, not only a “respectable position, and as men call it, well off in the world,” but more importantly a “two year holiday in Europe on half-pay” to gain the training necessary for the position.⁵⁰ With an “abundant” salary and the opportunity to “gratify a long-cherished design of acquiring familiarity with the German language,” Basil saw the opportunity to gain “a position of influence in the literary and religious circles of the state.” Basil also hoped to eventually “change the nature of my Professorship sooner or later, taking up branches more congenial to my tastes and habits of study--e.g. Metaphysics etc.” “Having been led to abandon my Pastorate by my health,” Basil mused, “and still entertaining serious, honest doubts as to my capacity for enduring those labors which belong to a Pastor,” this opportunity excited him and roused him from the torpor of depression.⁵¹ Basil would have likely taken the position had not a choice pastorate been offered him--the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia.

⁵⁰ Surely such a condition was unusual and demonstrates the advantages Basil had as son of the president.

⁵¹ “Jottings Down,” April 12, 1850, BMF.

CHAPTER 5
"THE REAL TRIAL IS NOW COMMENCING:" TWO CAREERS IN RICHMOND

Now armed with not only a graduate diploma from a premier Northern seminary and the "relations and connections and the name I have," but also with a published, popular hymnal to his credit, Basil would have been considered by the most prominent Baptist churches of the South.¹ Soon he was being courted by one of the most prestigious, the First Baptist Church of Richmond. The Richmond Church had expressed an interest in Basil before, in July, 1849, following his resignation from his first pastoral charge. This invitation, coming in the midst of his melancholic episode, was refused.² In the next year, however, the offer was repeated, and Basil accepted.

Richmond, Virginia, was an exciting city, without the reputation for vice which had deterred Basil from accepting the charge at New Orleans a few years earlier. Richmond had a population of 30,000 in 1850. The city's population was to grow 37% in the next decade.³ Industry was booming; by the 1850s, Richmond had become the center

¹ "Jottings Down," December 14, 1847, BMF.

² First Baptist Church, Richmond, 1780-1955: One Hundred and Seventy-Five Years of Service to God and Man (Richmond, n.p., 1955), 61.

³ Marylou Rhodes, Landmarks of Richmond: Places to Know and See in the Nation's Most Historic City (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1938), 3; Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1976), 135.

of the world's tobacco industry; it was home to a large ironworks, which produced railroad engines; its flour mills produced 400,000 barrels a year, making Richmond the second largest flour producer in the nation.⁴ In 1846, the City Gas Works lit the streets at night; the next year, Richmond was connected to the fledgling telegraph service.⁵

As Basil himself described the city in a fund-raising speech for Richmond College, on whose Board of Trustees he would sit, "Every Richmond man must feel a pleasure in looking at the endless signs of improvement: new buildings growing as if by magic, hills surrendering their useless crowns, elevating the humble valleys. Crowded railroad depots and thronged streets all demonstrate that a new era of improvement has begun."⁶

The First Baptist Church of Richmond had had a gloried past, with a string of notable pastors. The church had had a membership of nearly twenty-one hundred in 1841, when with the encouragement of the pastor, J. B. Jeter, the "colored membership," numbering seventeen hundred, withdrew to form the First African Baptist Church,

⁴ Dabney, 134-135; see also "Manufactures and Mills" in Samuel Mordecai, Richmond in By-Gone Days: Being Reminiscences of an Old Citizen (Richmond: George M. West, 1856; New York: Arno Press, 1975), 259-267.

⁵ Mary Newton Stanard, Richmond: Its People and Its Story (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923), no page numbers. Richmond had had a rudimentary lighting system much earlier, perhaps the first such urban system. Mordecai, 303-304.

⁶ Basil declared himself a member of "The Progress Party. Progress is a word of delightful import. The thing itself is still more delightful. . . . We are for progress in every direction. . . . We are for progress in every department." Speech Notes, "Richmond College," 1850s, BMF.

meeting in an older structure which had once housed the church and which it still owned. The four hundred remaining white members had grown to five hundred and forty by 1850, when Basil took the pastorate.⁷

On Wednesday, September 11, 1850, Basil arrived in Richmond, where he was met by a delegation from the church who took him to his lodgings.⁸ He entered quickly into the active work of the pastorate, preaching the next night to some 300 members of the church. Within the first week, he preached at the Young Men's Prayer Meeting, attended the Virginia General Association Conference, made numerous pastoral calls, and preached his first Sunday as Pastor, to around 900 in the morning and 250 at night.⁹ In November he made the arrangement official, although his self-doubt appeared when he promised his congregation that "whenever experience satisfies me that I am only occupying the place which another could fill, I shall be ready to resign."¹⁰

The stress of the increased workload and his new responsibilities began to take their toll. Within a month, Basil's self-criticism and self-doubt returned. He complained of "a dull profitless time in meeting...a rather uneasy time in preaching--no liberty in the

⁷ The First Century of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia (Richmond: Carlton McCarthy, 1880), 28; First Baptist Church, 239-240.

⁸ Among those meeting him was "Brother Gwathmey", who would later become his brother in law. "Diary," September 11, 1850, BMF.

⁹ "Diary," September 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 1850, BMF. He noted between 6 and 10 calls on most of the days in which he noted calls made.

¹⁰ First Baptist Church, 61.

head nor heart."¹¹ His sermons were "cold and dull;" at times he could not bear to complete them.¹²

Some blame for the banality of Basil's sermons may lie in the fact that he was not writing new ones, but preaching from "old preparations," notes of those he had written years earlier.¹³ In his diary he struggled with what he saw as a failure to do the scholarly, studious work of the pastoral ministry and produce new sermon material. "In some degree nervousness is connected with this," he wrote; sermon writing became for him an exercise bringing "pain without profit."¹⁴

At the same time, he felt guilty for not applying himself more diligently to the task. A day of rest became a day of waste: "I have lost a day 1. frittering away my time 2. Doubtful about what I should do."¹⁵ He determined to rise earlier and get to work earlier, and to work during the week on 2 separate sermon subjects, from which the choice of writing would be made.¹⁶

¹¹ "Diary," September 24, 1850, BMF.

¹² "Didn't get through more than 1/2 my sermon." "Diary," October 27, 1850, BMF.

¹³ "Diary," November 21, 1850, BMF.

¹⁴ "Diary," October 4, 1850, BMF.

¹⁵ "Diary," November 16, 1850, BMF. "I have been sitting here all morning after a fashion not altogether unusual with me. Have done nothing to any purpose. The Lord forgive me for such a waste of his time." "Diary," October 4, 1850, BMF.

¹⁶ "Diary," November 16, 1850, BMF.

Through the first winter in Richmond, the situation did not improve, and Basil faced a crisis: he had run out of old sermons.¹⁷ Moreover, Basil felt a rising discontent among his parishioners. "The glow of first interest" which his congregation had expressed, rooted in the "inconveniences of being without a pastor for so long, which made the people ready to welcome almost any tolerable supply," had "passed from remembrance."¹⁸ "It is evident," Basil wrote, "that the easiest part of my labors are past, and that the real trial is now commencing. . . I have wasted much time in doubting what to do, and going back, and revising my decision."¹⁹ For Basil, his success or failure at Richmond would truly be the test of his abilities and calling to pastoral ministry: "if I can succeed anywhere, I can here."²⁰

His ability to succeed, however, seemed uncertain. A further year of pastoral work did not convince him that he was suited for the church in Richmond. An attack of pneumonia struck him in the Spring of 1852; the public story was that this illness sent him home to Tuscaloosa to recuperate.²¹ Although he may well have gone home to

¹⁷ "My old stock of sermons has been gleaned over already." "Diary," February 6, 1851, BMF.

¹⁸ "Diary," February 6, 1851, BMF.

¹⁹ "Diary," February 6, 1851, BMF.

²⁰ "Diary," February 6, 1851, BMF.

²¹ Minutes, First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, September 29, 1851, in Joseph Powhatan Cox, "A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." (Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954), 93..

recuperate, he was also actively investigating the possibility of leaving Richmond for another charge, especially the church in Tuskalooosa.²²

In the midst of his uncertainty, Basil composed a lengthy "Memorandum Concerning Myself" in which he examined his life up to that time. "I have evidently failed thus far in my life in some things, several of which I had more or less at heart," Basil wrote rather ambiguously. Yet he had "obviously succeeded in some others, enough certainly to forbid discouragement, and to elicit gratitude to God, the bounteous giver of all success."²³

Having written this sincere thankfulness for his successes, he laid aside the paper, returning two weeks later to outline all his failures.²⁴ First, he lamented that he had not learned as much as he had desired too, nor become "as ready or polished a writer, nor as skillful and effective a speaker as I had hoped." He went on to complain that he had not "acquired that ease in company, that readiness and polish in conversation or grace of manners which I had expected to possess before this time." The combination of the two had prevented him from achieving "that extensive acquaintance and influence in the place of my residence which many in my situation would have found it easy to obtain." He had not mastered a "self control as to my feelings." He was "not as pious and devout as I had

²² He traveled throughout the state in search of pastoral opportunities. "Diary II," Basil Manly, Sr., March 30, 1852, UAL.

²³ Basil Manly, Jr., "Memorandum Concerning Myself," March 20, 1852. SSA.

²⁴ Manly continued the memorandum on April 3. "Memorandum," April 3, 1852, SSA.

expected to be by this time,” expressing a dissatisfaction with his knowledge of scripture and his not being “intimately acquainted with theological topics, not as well settled and clear on some doctrinal points.” In his favor, he could only note that “I am quite as well off pecuniarily as I had hoped.”

Well into the document the reader senses Basil’s chief concern--“I have not found a partner in marriage,” a shortcoming which he described as “a point of failure.” Marriage, he believed, would make him a “better, happier, more useful man. . . . It would develop some weak points and repress some strong evil ones in my character.” Moreover, marriage would provide a “more settled stand among my fellow man” and an increased access to social events. To a great advantage, “it would rid me of that endless and frivolous trifling with which a young man is perpetually assailed on matrimony love etc.” Basil’s ruminations were not vague and generalized; they had a specific target. “My attention is at present specially directed to Mrs. Charlotte Smith of Marion.”

Joseph Smith, who had won the hand of Charlotte away from him at the Judson Commencement in 1849, had died on October 28 of that year, barely three months after the marriage.²⁵ He had not died, however, without conceiving a son with Charlotte, named after his deceased father when he was born in 1850.

It is not clear when Basil learned of the death of his former rival. At the latest, it was on a trip to Marion in late March of 1852, when he visited the town, ostensibly to

²⁵ Emma Morehead Whitfield, compiler, and Theodore Marshall Whitfield, editor. Whitfield, Bryan, Smith, and Related Families, Book One, Whitfield (Westminster, Maryland: The Times, Inc., 1950), 223.

discuss the possibilities of a new pastorate.²⁶ He wrestled with himself whether he should again risk so much in attempting to win Charlotte's affection. He prayed for divine guidance: "If I am turned aside from this matter I shall endeavor to regard it as an intimation of the Lord's will." Yet it was clear what Basil's will was; he prayed that his pursuit of Charlotte would lead to a marriage "for God's glory and for the good of the church, and my soul and hers." But if such a union would not strengthen Basil's ministry, he would accept disgrace once more. "Let me bear shame; let this heart break; but let not the glorious cause suffer or eternal interests be put in jeopardy."²⁷

Basil's prayers appeared answered when Charlotte consented to marry the young minister. No longer the melancholic, unemployed young minister she had passed over in 1849, Basil, though still melancholic, was now the pastor of one of the leading churches in the South. Without considering the obvious affection she felt for him, Basil was a much better catch than he had been three years earlier. And with the wealth she inherited from Joseph's estate added to her own, the family could begin on sound footing. Within a month, on April 28, Basil and Charlotte were wed by J. H. DeVotie, who had officiated at Charlotte and Joseph's elopement.²⁸ A week later, the couple, with Charlotte's son Jo, left for Richmond.²⁹

²⁶ "Diary II," Basil Manly, Sr., March 30, 1852, UAL. The trip took place between the breaks in his "Memorandum Concerning Myself," SSA.

²⁷ "Memorandum," April 3, 1852, SSA.

²⁸ Whitfield and Whitfield, 223.

²⁹ "Diary II," Basil Manly, Sr., May 5, 1852, UAL.

Perhaps as a wedding gift, Basil, Sr., sent one of his slave families to Richmond in October. Ben and Mary Jinco and their two children, Margaret and Harriet, replaced Martha, a slave woman whom Basil, Sr., had apparently sent with Basil in May.³⁰ Ben served as a general servant; more importantly, “Miss Mary” served as Nanny to all of Basil’s future children.

Basil’s marriage, of course, brought its share of stress. Within months Basil was aware that “my marriage and the duties and necessities arising therefrom make still greater claim than heretofore on my time and powers.” He worried about “how Charlotte and I will succeed as heads of a household” when he could not afford to set up housekeeping, but remained a boarder. Not only did he feel this limited the “influence we are to exert socially among our community;” he was plagued by “indistinct and vague apprehensions in relation to finances.” The “most painful kind” of financial concerns weighed heavily on his mind.³¹

Other problems he faced by July, 1852, added to what he termed a “crisis . . . in my own individual history.” His health, he feared, was weakening.³² He faced

³⁰ Basil, Sr., considered the transfer of property as, in effect, a lease, and not a gift. The gift was in the use of the slaves, not in their technical ownership. “Diary II,” Basil Manly, Sr., October 14, 1852, UAL.

³¹ Basil took the time to work out a detailed income and expense statement. He expected an income of \$3127 and expense of \$2103 for the next year, hardly the financial crunch he bemoaned. “Diary,” July 6, 1852, BMF.

³² It is unclear whether Basil refers to his physical or emotional health.

competition from Dr. J. B. Jeter, who had preceded him as Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Richmond; the respected churchman had returned to Richmond to pastor the Third Baptist Church, and was drawing some of Basil's parishioners to his church.³³ Moreover, the "embarrassing and dividing questions which are rising in the South generally," he feared, would affect the operation of the Southern Baptist Convention, many of whose boards Basil served on. All of these problems drove Basil to the conclusion that "It is to be decided by the completion of 6 months whether I can labor as a Pastor, or must abandon the field."³⁴

Over those six months, Basil became increasingly melancholic. His sermons, he felt, brought "little or no result" and he was "losing rapidly any self-reliance in extempore efforts."³⁵ He would attempt to write his sermons, but "with no heart to it."³⁶ His "procrastinal feelings" and tendency to "worry and fret over a thing" produced an "injury to my self respect."³⁷ As to his effectiveness as a pastor, his summary of the past year's work provided a "gloomy report of the aggression upon the hosts of sin by this portion of the Lord's Army.." Moreover, the "unsettled condition" of boarding, he felt, was

³³"Diary," September 24, 1852, BMF; See William E. Hatcher, Life of J. B. Jeter, D.D. (Baltimore: H. M. Wharton and Company, 1887).

³⁴ "Diary," September 24, 1852, BMF.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "Diary," September 25, 1852, BMF.

³⁷ "Diary," October 2, 1852, BMF.

affecting his marriage; he blamed his “wife’s occasional indispositions and my own” on his failure to provide a house of their own to live in. What is more, his living situation threatened his sense of honor; being a boarder, Basil worried, was having “an injurious effect on my reputation.”³⁸ “It is a bad thing,” he recorded in his diary, “for a man to be regarded as either a fickle or an undecided man. The former I am not; the latter I am.”³⁹

Finding a house was difficult, not only because of Basil’s procrastination but because of a shortage of available property in Richmond. “Houses are very scarce just now,” his sister Sarah Rudolph Manly, visiting Basil and Charlotte, reported; “there are a good many buildings which are engaged before they are finished.”⁴⁰ Charlotte noted that “it is indeed difficult to get a house. I do not know what we are to do. First it is such a hard matter to be pleased.” When Basil went out “house-hunting as usual,” she worried, “I feel he will put himself to a great deal of trouble about a house, but just now it is unavoidable for houses are very scarce--exceedingly so.” She added, “I am the more anxious to go to house-keeping.”⁴¹

Basil’s melancholy and his dissatisfaction with his pastoral work continued to deepen. He continued to be too “mentally discouraged” and “spiritually dull,” as well as

³⁸ “Diary,” September 24, 1852, BMF.

³⁹ “Diary,” September 24, 1852, BMF.

⁴⁰ Letter from Sarah R. Manly to Brother [Charles?], October 1, 1852, BMSHC.

⁴¹ Letter from Charlotte to Brother, October 4, 1852, BMSHC.

"physically fatigued," to produce new sermons;⁴² those he managed to write were "hurriedly prepared."⁴³ By November, 1853, he was cycling through old sermons which he had already preached in Richmond. "The sermon was an old sermon I preached here before," he wrote one Sunday evening. "I have no idea that it was recognized, however, nor do I care if it was." There was little choice--in five months, he had only found time and mental energy to write two "passable" sermons, neither of which was a "fairly full preparation."⁴⁴ This condition, Basil admitted to himself, was a "serious dereliction of duty."⁴⁵

His pulpit style continued to decline, in his eyes, and his journal is full of accounts of sermons which were "dull and dead," "flurried and uncomfortable," "too long--too rambling," and "without much effect I think."⁴⁶ When he preached, it was "with little pleasure, bringing out good thoughts sometimes but in anything but a good way."⁴⁷ "Vexed with myself" as he reread his journal, he sighed, "this diary is annoying and discouraging."⁴⁸

⁴² "Journal," November 3, 1853, SSA.

⁴³ "Journal," September 22, 1853, SSA.

⁴⁴ "Journal," November 6, 1853, SSA.

⁴⁵ "Journal," September 17, 1853, SSA.

⁴⁶ "Journal," September 18, 1853; September 20, 1853; October 31, 1853; "did not melt anybody or get melted myself," November 6, 1853, SSA.

⁴⁷ "Journal," November 9, 1853, SSA.

⁴⁸ "Journal," September 17, 1853, SSA.

He reported that his "mind [was] not much active" and that he had a difficulty in concentrating; his thoughts seemed unorganized and "rambling."⁴⁹ His "incapacity at times to write or think" disturb him. Perhaps most tellingly, he "resolved to leave off biting my nails."⁵⁰

Moreover, he was struck by physical illness in these months. A bile over his eye had "become so severe as to confine me" for several weeks.⁵¹ He complained frequently of headaches, but had decided to give up his usual cure: "I quit the use of Brandy a month ago and I suppose I am just beginning to feel the effects." Yet he determined to avoid the use of alcoholic beverages, even for medicinal purposes: "I fear to do anything that may ever be twisted into a support for intemperance. I had rather die first, if it were necessary, than to give any aid to that monster vice."⁵² His determination held for some time; "A resort to bandy would relieve me, I know," he wrote three months later, "but I won't do it." Within a year, however, his physical and mental stress would cause him to return to the habit.⁵³ The combination of increasing calls upon his time, his self-perceived failure

⁴⁹ "Journal," October 16, 1853; November 6, 1853, SSA.

⁵⁰ "Journal," 1854, February 16, 1854, SSA.

⁵¹ "Journal," November 23, 1853, SSA.

⁵² "Journal," November 6, 1853, SSA.

⁵³ There is no intention here to imply that Basil drank heavily; there is certainly no indication that the relief from stress rose to the level of intoxication. Basil himself compared the amount he drank to a mere "tablespoon of brandy a day." "Journal," November 6, 1853, SSA.

in the pulpit, and his emotional and physical downturns convinced him that "I had better leave here at the first opportunity that promises usefulness."⁵⁴

Manly found another avenue for usefulness in his involvement with the formation of the Richmond Female Institute.⁵⁵ In 1851, the Dover Association of Virginia Baptists called for the establishment of a female seminary in the state which would be affordable to the average Baptist family.⁵⁶ The three largest white Baptist churches in Richmond answered the challenge and set up a committee, headed by Manly, to build such a school in Richmond.⁵⁷ By summer, 1853, plans were well underway; the Board of Trustees had

⁵⁴ "Journal," November 6, 1853, SSA. Basil struggled with his decision to leave the church at Richmond. A "protracted meeting" in the fall of 1853 revived his own spirits, as he saw a number of conversions taking place. He determined to remain at the church as long as the protracted meetings, led by a preacher named Tyree, continued. Letter from Basil to Charles, November 27, 1853, BMSHC.

⁵⁵ The Richmond Female Institute was renamed the Women's College of Richmond in 1893 and later became Westhampton College in the University of Richmond. Garnet Rylands, The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926 (Richmond: Whitett and Stephenson, 1955), 291.

⁵⁶ Reuben E. Alley, History of the University of Richmond, 1830-1971 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 112.

⁵⁷ Alley, 112; Ryland, 291. Manly wrote a speech supporting the move to building a woman's school in Richmond. "Define what sort of school you want. Obviously, it is not here." Basil argued that Baptists had an interest in women's education: "The denomination which educates the children will have the people. Especially true of the female sex. Lay your foundations deep--if you build in the affection of they who are to be the mothers of the next generation." Speech Notes, "A Baptist Female Institute in Richmond," 1850s, BMF.

been chosen, with Manly as the Secretary.⁵⁸ One of its first missions was to find a President for the institute.

Basil had in mind his own candidate for the head of the school; he wrote his brother Charles that their father “had better come and take the presidency of Our Gal’s College. We will guarantee him 2000 a year. That’s better than 2500 in Alabama.”⁵⁹ In September a different candidate came to his mind. One night Basil lay awake “sleepless the greater part of the night; and as I could not sleep was thinking much about the Female Institute.” As he lay thinking, he began to “feel somewhat impressed as if it were my duty to take hold of that matter and carry it through.”⁶⁰ He remained silent about his interest, however, and the committee selected as candidate Milo P. Jewett of Judson College, who agreed to take the presidency of the Institute for a salary of \$3000 a year.⁶¹ For several months the Trustees awaited Jewett’s decision.

That winter, Jewett sent word that he would not, after all, accept the offer. In February of 1854, in the midst of his deepest dissatisfaction with himself and with his pastorate, Manly was approached by a member of the committee about accepting the

⁵⁸ Ryland, 291.

⁵⁹ Letter from Basil to Charles, June 12, 1853, BMSHC.

⁶⁰ Basil Manly, Jr., Journal 1853-54, September 24, 1853, SSA.

⁶¹ Basil Manly, Jr., “Journal,” September 26, 1853, November 3, 1853, SSA. Jewett had been President of Judson when Charlotte was a student.

presidency. "I said I was willing to give the subject serious consideration."⁶² He certainly did so seriously, but also quickly, and the decision was reached to leave the pastorate and concentrate solely on educational pursuits.

In the midst of his concerns about what he perceived as his failed pastorate in Richmond, Charlotte gave birth to their first child, a daughter, Kate.⁶³ In late January, 1854, Basil took Charlotte, Jo, and Kate for an extended visit with his parents in Tuskalooosa, returning quickly to the press of his duties but leaving them behind. In the middle of March, Kate became ill. What had been a "bright and animated child" began to suffer "fearful spasms" and "strong convulsions," accompanied by a high fever. On March 18, she died. The immediate effect of the death of his only child so far away from him must have been severe; one clue to his grief is that he stopped writing in his diary. He did, however, compose several poems for his dead daughter:

'Twas not my lot to stand and see thee die
Nor watch Death's signet stamp upon thy brow.
To give one last long kiss and lay thee down
Then safely, sweetly, sinlessly to rest.⁶⁴

Perhaps the tragedy served as an impetus to change his position rapidly. Barely returning from his daughter's grave, Basil resigned from the First Baptist Church--

⁶² "Journal," February 22, 1854, SSA. He would later say that he was "unexpectedly summoned." Basil Manly, Jr., "Address," in *First Century*, 279.

⁶³ The birthdate of Kate has not been found.

⁶⁴ The poems are in the back of "Evening Musings," a volume of poetry Basil began at Newton. The stanza quoted is from "My Little Kate in Heaven." BMF.

"retiring into private ranks," he phrased it to his congregation--and accepted the offer of the Presidency of the women's school.⁶⁵ The congregation "promptly and unanimously" issued a call to the Northern clergyman Dr. John Lansing Burrows to replace Manly, offering him \$2500 a year, much more than the \$1500 Manly had earned.⁶⁶

Despite this cultural and financial insult and, more importantly, the recent death of his daughter, the resignation seemed a break with what he perceived as his failed past, and Basil's spirits lifted. "Since I have been at this," Basil wrote his brother, "I have had my mind settled by accepting the Institute. I believe I am improving in health and gaining elasticity of mind."⁶⁷ Charlotte, however, saw little improvement through the summer. "Poor Mr. Manly has felt oppressed. . . . He took a dose of his old medicine, Brandy this morning which he finds very beneficial in keeping headache away."⁶⁸

The "'cares of this world'" continued to weigh on Basil through that busy summer. He took an active role in overseeing the physical construction of the institute, a role so active that it frightened Charlotte, especially when he nearly fell from a loose plank fifty feet above the ground. "I warn Mr. M. always on going out not to go on top of

⁶⁵ First Baptist Church, 62. Basil's perceived failure is not matched by the actual figures of the growth of the church; during his pastorate, the church grew from 540 to 637, with 134 baptisms; Sunday School enrollment rose from 271 to 550 scholars. Much of this growth was the result of a revival meeting held by another preacher in Basil's church, however. First Century, 91; First Baptist Church, 240.

⁶⁶ First Baptist Church, 63.

⁶⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 29, 1854, BMSHC.

⁶⁸ Letter from Charlotte to Brother, July 6, 1854, BMSHC.

the house.”⁶⁹ Basil, meanwhile, had deeper concerns. “I hope that it will prove that I did right in resigning and taking this new position. Perhaps not. I thought, at the time, it was my duty.” Basil concluded that “I must go at it now anyhow, for a time at least.” His guilt over preaching old sermons continued to haunt him.⁷⁰ He was reluctant to send a sermon he had recently prepared to Charles, who had requested it--“Take care of it. I shall want it again”--but promised his brother, “I don’t intend to be satisfied with preaching old ones over and over again” in the future.⁷¹

By the fall, the building which would house the Institute was complete. “An edifice has sprung up,” Basil reported to the stockholders, “as if by magic, which is an ornament to the city, and cannot but command admiration.” The school’s new stationary was headed by an etching of the city prominently displaying the building, showing clearly the adornment the institute brought.⁷² Certainly the city had every reason for its pride in the new school. The trustees had raised \$70,000 to construct the campus in a fashionable district; \$10,000 alone was spent on accessories such as “an excellent laboratory” for the

⁶⁹ Letter from Charlotte to Brother, July 6, 1854, BMSHC.

⁷⁰ Basil had agreed to serve as stated supply of Walnut Grove Baptist Church; this involved no further duties than preaching on Sundays, and Basil makes little mention of the four-year service there. Edward Howell Roberts, compiler, Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1815-1932 (Princeton: Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, 1933), 138.

⁷¹ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 29, 1854, BMSHC.

⁷² Printed Circular sent to stockholders, November 22, 1854, BMF. The building was designed by New York architect T. A. Teft. Rylands, 291.

Natural Science and Chemistry courses.⁷³ On the opening day of the school, 225 young women “were eager to matriculate. Most of the pupils rode in their own carriages,” one would later recall, “driven by colored servants who were pompous in manner and jealous for their young mistresses to shine in society.”⁷⁴

In the excitement of the school’s opening, Charlotte gave birth to a son, Basil Rudolph, on September 8, 1854.⁷⁵ Besides the care of the young child, Charlotte worried about her husband’s health. “Mr. Manly looks thinner than I’ve seen him for a great while. He thinks his health better but I see no change so far, it may be more in feeling than appearance.” She worried that the Institute “works him very hard,” especially as he found himself with the unexpected job of substituting on short notice for sick or absent teachers.⁷⁶

Basil’s change in vocation also caused him some concern, and he seemed sensitive about how others would view that change. “I do not concede in the smallest degree that I am excluded from or have abandoned the ministry,” he wrote his brother. “I

⁷³ Cassie M. Lyne, “Reminiscences of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Founding of the Richmond Female Institute.” (n.p., 1926), 5, 10; Manly, “Address,” The First Century, 279; Ryland, 291. Mrs. Lyne was an alumnae of the Institute, 1861.

⁷⁴ Lyne, 11. Apparently, only 191 were students in the Institute; the remainder were preparatory students. Rylands, 291.

⁷⁵ Louise Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930), 231.

⁷⁶ Letter from Charlotte to Charles, March 24, 1855. BMSHC.

am cut off--as I feel it . . . from the direct and exclusive devotion to the Pastoral office, which had been the plan of my life.”⁷⁷ In declining the call to pastor the Second Baptist Church of Savannah, he claimed that “in resigning the charge of the 1st Church in this place, I was governed by no aversion to the duties of a Pastor but by the necessity of preserving life and health; and I am not yet sufficiently reviving (if indeed I ever shall) to resume the pastoral office.”⁷⁸

At the end of the first year, Basil seemed to look forward to a career at the Institute. “About myself--I do not know that I have any reason to look forward to or desire change.” Despite the poor financial status of the school after the first year, “I hope that another year I may be able to have more relief from confining duties and to have rather better profits.”⁷⁹

During the summer, however, he began to feel the pressure of the school’s financial stress and his own poor management skills. When the Trustees met “at last” in late July, Basil received a contract which lowered his spirits. He was rented the building on a four-year lease at a rent of 12% of the receipts, “without the guarantee of \$1000, which was made for last year.” Basil determined to “manage better than I did last year, or go to the wall; for there is nothing now between me and the wall, but my own judgment and energy. I confess I find little of the latter quality just now.” The unusually hot

⁷⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 22, 1855, BMSHC.

⁷⁸ Letter from Basil to George S. Frierson, May 19, 1855, BMSHC.

⁷⁹ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 22, 1855, BMSHC.

weather and his growing melancholy sapped his energy--"I certainly have never suffered so from a lazy, sleepy, languid feeling day after day." Basil concluded the letter by outlining to his brother a list of his faults--while "I am not a man of prayer at all, in any just sense of the term . . . yet, I have not been a true man of business." And a return to pastoring seemed unlikely. "I am afraid as to preaching, I shall never be very effective again." There seemed little to do but remain where he was. "On the whole I suppose it is my duty to go ahead here . . . for another year."⁸⁰

During the next year, 1855-56, Basil's duties at the school bore him down. "I was in a press of business every minute of the day, feel jaded," he recorded of the first day of the new school term.⁸¹ On the second day he "felt rather peevish and out of sorts;" on the third he was "busy, busy all day."⁸² By the fourth, he "felt like arranging so as to quit at the end of this session. There is so much petty worryment, and endless details of botherations."⁸³ The education the girls brought with them he found insufficient: "you can scarcely hope that a dozen years would make scholars of them."⁸⁴

In late 1855, Manly purchased a magazine, the American Baptist Memorial, and began to publish it in January of 1856 from Richmond as "sole proprietor and responsible

⁸⁰ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 29, 1855, BMSHC.

⁸¹ Basil Manly, Jr., ""Journal," October 1, 1855-August 5, 1858", October 1, 1855, SSA.

⁸² "Journal," October 2, 1855; October 3, 1855, SSA.

⁸³ "Journal," October 4, 1855, SSA.

⁸⁴ "Journal," October 3, 1855, SSA.

editor.”⁸⁵ Billing itself as “a Statistical, Biographical, and Historical Magazine,” the Memorial covered the activities of Baptists in both the North and the South, providing news of schools, revivals, and ordinations. It began to include, as Basil developed it, more and more sermons and political pieces. The young English Baptist minister, Charles H. Spurgeon, made some of his first appearances in the American press in the Memorial at a time when the abrasive foreigner, with little formal education, had come under criticism from older American Baptist leaders. Basil published several of his sermons, along with laudatory comments, and may be fairly credited with helping to build the more favorable reputation Spurgeon would come to enjoy in America.⁸⁶

Basil also used the magazine to support efforts to colonize slaves and former slaves in Africa. He wrote a long article celebrating the achievements of “free blacks from the United States . . . organized after the American model” in Liberia. He lauded Liberian schools, government, newspapers, and efforts to convert the “natives.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ The phrase comes from the former editor, J. A. Burrows, in introducing the magazine’s changes. The American Baptist Memorial: A Statistical, Biographical, and Historical Magazine. 15, January 1856, 61.

⁸⁶ American Baptist Memorial, 15, August 1856, November 1856. Perhaps returning the favor, Spurgeon included Basil’s hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,” in the hymnal he edited. Charles H. Spurgeon, Our Own Hymn-Book, Hymn 186, in Richardson, “Basil Manly, Jr.,” 100; Manly, The Manly Family, 199. Apparently, Basil and Spurgeon met when Basil visited Europe in the 1880s; Manly, The Manly Family, 199.

⁸⁷ “Liberia in Africa,” American Baptist Memorial, 15, June 1856. He also published support for the “Colonization Society,” calling it “an enterprise of the highest importance, both in its moral and its commercial bearing.” American Baptist Memorial, 15, April 1856.

Basil also took the opportunity to discuss his own interests in history. In "Materials for Baptist History," he lamented the fact that Southern Baptists had not been as active in maintaining an effort to archive important papers for future historians as they ought to have been. In the same issue, he considered "The Progress of Baptists in America," telling their story from their earliest days to the present.⁸⁸

Primarily, however, the Memorial was a compendium of news stories. In publishing reports of Baptist activity from across the country, Basil relied not only on his own contacts, such as his father and T. F. Curtis, his former pastor, but developed new contacts which would serve him well in the future. In addition, his own reports of Baptist educational institutions--and even of one non-Baptist school, by no coincidence Princeton Theological Seminary--were always laudatory. At a time when he complained to his own father about the surplus of Baptist Female Schools in Virginia, he wrote an article which commended all of them--his own included.⁸⁹ The magazine enabled him to make influential friends in schools throughout the United States--especially the South.⁹⁰

By March, just two months after acquiring the magazine, Basil discovered that the financial burden it had proven to the previous owner had been transferred to his own

⁸⁸ American Baptist Memorial, 15, April 1856.

⁸⁹ Princeton, 15, April 1856; "Baptist Female Institutions in Virginia," American Baptist Memorial, September 1856, 283-284.

⁹⁰ These were hardly the closely knit "Sacred Circles" described by Drew Gilpin Faust, but were nevertheless important networks. Faust, A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840-1860 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

shoulders intact. The magazine had lost \$500 over the subscriptions in the previous year; he anticipated losing even more than that in the present year. Being unwilling to put his own name to an appeal for subscribers to pay their subscriptions, he authored an article under the transparent pseudonym “A. B. Memorial” in which he portrayed the magazine as a fifteen-year-old orphan girl asking for “gold dollars” so that she could be properly clothed and educated.⁹¹ In the next month, Basil complained, with no resort to wit or pretended anonymity, that too many subscribers had “long deferred” their payments. He pleaded with the subscribers not only to pay their subscriptions, but to recruit new subscribers as well.⁹² The appeal apparently produced little result, and at the end of the year Basil sold the magazine to Hiram F. Reed of Philadelphia.⁹³

The financial failure of the Memorial seemed to add to Basil’s conviction by the Spring of 1857 that he needed to leave the Institute. Of what to do and where to go, though, he was uncertain. Another child, Lizzie, had been born to the family in March, 1856, and the impending birth of another daughter, Fanny Louisa, increased the incentive to better his financial situation.⁹⁴ He attempted to sell his investment in slaves and

⁹¹ American Baptist Memorial, 15, March 1856.

⁹² American Baptist Memorial, 15, March 1856. Basil also again requested that subscriptions be paid with “gold dollars.”

⁹³ Reed hired a new editor, Thomas S. Malcolm, and changed the journal’s name to the Baptist Family Magazine, adding both a Family and a Missionary Department to aim it at a wider audience. Baptist Family Magazine, 16, January 1856, back cover.

⁹⁴ “Diary II,” Basil Manly, Sr., March 3, 1856, UAL; Fanny Louisa, who would later publish as Louise Manly, would be born July 10, 1857; Manly, The Manly Family, 234.

farmland in Alabama, but found his financial problems worse than he had imagined. Although he made a deal to sell his slaves for \$11,500, he discovered that his agricultural investments had lost \$10,000 through poor management.⁹⁵ He would have to find employment--or make employment for himself--before he could leave.

Basil did not even consider going back into pastoral work; "I, poor chance, am only fit to be a schoolmaster."⁹⁶ He considered moving west, but decided against it. "As to my going out to Kansas even to look, I reckon that's rather a moonshining project. Believe, on the whole, I'm near enough to the "wild injuns" now."⁹⁷ And he wished to avoid the Baptist schools. "I am not much disposed to fancy the plunging into a denominational school--either for girls or boys." Although the identification with the Baptist churches "helps some," he doubted that it "does not cramp more than it helps an enterprise." The thought of leaving Richmond seems to have buoyed his spirits, and he proposed a project of considerable risk to a man with three children: "If I don't find anything else to do, I'll make a book; and I think it would pay; and it would not take me long neither." The success of the Psalmody made him think that it would be profitable to "gather up out of the old collections of church music the best of our old favorites--and publish them with such a title as this 'Good Old Times--a Collection of the favorites of

⁹⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 6, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁶ Letter from Basil to Father, February 20, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 6, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

our fathers; selected and arranged by B. M. Jr.’. Would not that go?” But first, he planned “try my hand on a school book, either a Geography or a Grammar or both.”⁹⁸

Although he had no plans for the future, Basil had had enough of the Institute, and decided to resign abruptly at the next meeting.⁹⁹ As he understood his situation, he must either resign or the trustees would “ship me off as a bad piece of property.” In that case, he might be forced to come back dishonored, “begging” to be rehired, with the “imploring look” of a “big Dog.” Yet if he resigned, it might be the trustees who came begging. “The moral force of my position is strengthened, it occurs to me, by a simple, candid resignation. . . . It makes it necessary for them to suggest--if they want anything of me, to ask me.”¹⁰⁰

At the meeting of the trustees, Basil presented a report on the previous year. Enrollment in the Institute had declined from 268 to 218 in one year; the preparatory school had dropped from 130 students to 104. Moreover, fewer students were boarding at the Institute; Jeter interjected that parents didn’t want their daughters living in a “crowd”. Manly informed the trustees that “the number and excellence and cheapness of new schools” had caused the decline in students. Then he resigned.

⁹⁸ The song collection would not be published for nearly forty years; the school books were apparently never begun. Letter from Basil to Parents, April 10, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 6, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 10, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

Manly gave three reasons for leaving Richmond Female Institute. First, "I do not secure a support on the present terms." Second, leaving would rid him of "some annoyances and inconveniences and risks," such as running the boarding facilities and disciplining students, which he had no heart for. Third, "I may find other positions equally or more useful" to his current positions.

To the protests of the trustees, who promised improved working conditions, Basil answered that if the financial situation of the school had been better, he would have found a way to stay--by concentrating on the educational aspect of the Institute and hiring a business manager and a schoolmistress--but that the chief reason for his leaving was financial.¹⁰¹

Somehow, the trustees managed to get Basil to stay on for one more year--"one more than I had designed" but emphatically "my last."¹⁰² Even so, Basil would write, "for myself, I have no purposes ahead."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 10, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

¹⁰² Letter from Basil to Charles, September 19, 1857, SBCHA folder 2.

¹⁰³ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 12, 1857, MFC.

CHAPTER 6
“THE PATH OF DUTY IS THE PATH OF SAFETY:” THE DECISION TO LEAVE
RICHMOND

While Basil was trying to plan for the future, his father was also preparing for a change. Basil, Sr., whom his son claimed was “the Pastor who received the largest salary of any Baptist minister in the South, if not in the U. S.,” had left the pastorate in Charleston and was contemplating a return to Alabama.¹ His son was hopeful that in their concurrent career moves, they could work together; “we must plan somehow for us both at once.”²

The most obvious solution was for the two Basils to own and operate a school together. Basil became determined that if they did, it should be a school for young men. When Basil Manly, Sr., was offered the “nominal head” position of the Alabama Female College, Basil, Jr., was not encouraging. “I am not just now over-stocked with admiration of such a position.”³ Besides Basil’s own discouraging experiences at Richmond, the dramatic growth of women’s schools in the South was increasing competition in that field. “The Baptist Female Schools on all sides of us are rising up to

¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 7, 1857, MFC.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

claim equality and contend for patronage with surprising rapidity,” Basil said of the Richmond Institute. “Though only 3 years old this Institute is quite antiquated and old-maidish beside several of their contemporaries.” Manly listed the Chesapeake Female College, Warrenton Institute, Botetourt Springs Institute, Albemarle Institute, and the Havana Institute in Virginia alone as new schools. Besides those in Virginia, new schools such as the Central Mississippi Female Institute, matched by the expanding Alabama Female Seminary, made the field simply too full to compete upon. The increased competition led to lower tuition rates “at which I can’t live,” Basil complained. He also poked fun at the large numbers of Baptist ministers who had left the ministry for women’s education; “if we all get to be Professors and Presidents and such, it will not be a bad plan for some of us to get back to being preachers again.”⁴ Such a plan did not seem likely for Basil himself; “At times, I think it may be best to return to the pastorate.” But doing so would take away the “pleasant work of teaching.” I feel really loth [sic] . . . to let go the hold which providence seems to have qualified me to take of the minds of the pupils.”⁵

The possibility of working together in a school they both controlled excited this father and son; throughout the fall of 1857, they eagerly discussed the possibility. Basil argued that if it were his own “capital as well as energies” which were at stake “in a school enterprise,” that “it should be in a cheap place, some country centre” with the

⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, September 19, 1857, BMSHC.

⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 12, 1857, MFC.

tuition set “to the means of the poor, or rather of the middle class . . . so as to raise the masses. That is true Baptist work.”⁶

Basil outlined his plan for building a profitable school. “I believe money may be made out of it--provided I would consent to humbug a little, to be not overly scrupulous about a really high standard, to flatter, and cajole, and electioneer--and with it all to work hard for a half dozen years or so, to gain position.”⁷ Basil was already thinking about possible locations: “I think you and I could buy out some place as Limestone Springs and build it up to a grand institution, in very little while, which would soon make money.”⁸ Basil, Sr., responded with his own suggestion: “There is Talladega. We could get that Male school . . . if the Presbyterians are willing to sell it at a sacrifice, and sell the goodwill of the concern, too.”⁹ Regardless of where the school was, or if he himself would be a part of it, Basil, Sr., insisted that Basil own his next school himself, and not rely on a salary paid by trustees.¹⁰ In the meantime, he suggested, Basil could “make a living by

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Basil, Sr., joked that it would be “the best place I know of for attempting your idea of a great paying Baptist Female Institute,” playing on Basil’s objections to a denominational women’s school. Letter from Father to Basil, October 15, 1857, MFC.

¹⁰ Letter from Father to Basil, October 20, 1857, MFC.

preaching to country churches. This is a field not to be despised, if it will support a man.”¹¹

The excitement of planning for the future was ended by the economic turmoil of the Panic of 1857. Although historians have tended to de-emphasize the event, because it was so short-lived and had few long-term results, for those caught in the midst of the financial chaos it was a frightening time.¹² Inflation caused by California Gold and high interest rates caused by British and French borrowing for the Crimean War hurt Northern farmers who relied on domestic prices; Southern planters, with their exported cotton prices, suffered less. The closing of several banks, however, affected people in both regions.

Basil, Sr., was particularly hit by financial pressures, at the same time that he was physically struggling with illness. “He has given way to his bad feelings, does not seem to try to rouse himself,” Abby reported to Basil from Charleston, describing her father as “depressed in spirits.”¹³ Basil seemed surprised at his father’s troubles, which apparently involved an inability for his bank to cash checks owed him, not any indebtedness of Basil, Sr.¹⁴ “I know I am not a good economist. I always thought you were.”¹⁵ Basil teased his

¹¹ Letter from Father to Basil, October 22, 1857, MFC.

¹² Michael F. Holt correctly notes that the Panic had a “much neglected political impact.” The Political Crisis of the 1850s (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978), 312, 199-201. Roy Franklin Nichols, The Disruption of American Democracy (New York: Free Press, 1948), 139-146;

¹³ Letter from Abby to Basil and Charlotte, October 10, 1857, MFC.

¹⁴ “I owe nothing, Thank God!” Letter from Father to Basil, October 12, 1857, MFC.

father, comparing him to a lobster which has been boiled, but instead of turning “done brown” has turned “blue.”¹⁶

As for Basil himself, his position looked bad as well. “The horizon our way seems as dark as Egypt in regard to the general state of affairs. . . . We haven’t anywhere near touched bottom yet.” Manly dreaded the coming year; “Winter is going to be one of the most trying morally and financially that has been seen in a long time.”¹⁷ Of the citizens of Richmond, “I never saw such a general and mallevalial gloom.”¹⁸

Basil spent some time thinking about the implications of the crisis. Besides a hope for increased religious awakening and revival,¹⁹ he noted “three good results I try to comfort myself by contemplating.” First, Basil desired the development of “a more moderate spirit in regard to gain. The lust for money making has nearly swallowed up everything noble and elevated.” Second, he hoped for “a wiser economy” since “we are as foolish in spending as in earning--wrought like galley slaves to spend like prodigals,

¹⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 13, 1857, MFC.

¹⁶ Letter from Basil to Father, October 24, 1857, MFC.

¹⁷ Letter from Basil to Father, October 24, 1857, MFC. The reference seems to be to the darkness of the Mosaic plagues in Exodus.

¹⁸ Letter from Basil to Father, October 24, 1857, MFC.

¹⁹ “There is a deeper interest in the church itself than I have seen since ‘51, and I think that wherever there is a ‘revival,’ there is very apt to be an ‘awakening’.” Letter from Basil to Charles, December 15, 1857, MFC. Perhaps the largest effect of the Panic of 1857 was this very revival. Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), 63-94.

worn out one hand in gathering together the piles of gold, and the other in throwing it away.”

The third “good result” he hoped for was “the preservation of the Union. Its dissolution would have been an awful result,” although “it was one to which we were drifting as steadily, and as certainly as the onward creep of the glaciers.” Not only would the crisis “teach [Northern] people the beauty of minding their own business,” but “it will render bankrupt many of the leading abolitionists and their papers.” Primarily, however, it would demonstrate the “greater security of the South financially” and “will exhibit in contrast with the Southern system of servitude, the Northern, with some of the most appalling evils.” Basil gave an example from Richmond itself--a large number of “free Negro hands” worked in the tobacco factories, “who got paid, not by the year, but by their work, so much a hundred. These have all been dismissed.” With the approaching winter, “Their case is hard. . . . But Cuffee is bound to be taken care of.”²⁰

Basil’s defense of the South in the Panic of 1857 was the culmination of a decade of thinking about the nature of Southern society and culture. Asked to present the Introductory Lecture to the Richmond Athenaeum earlier in the decade, Basil had begun writing a speech on “The Peculiar Elements of Southern Character,” but shifted instead to discuss “The Peculiar Agencies Operating on Southern Character.”²¹ For Basil, these two

²⁰ Letter from Basil to Father, October 24, 1857, MFC.

²¹ Basil Manly, Jr., “Peculiar Agencies Operating on Southern Character,” Introductory Lecture before the Richmond Athenaeum, n.d., [mid-1850s], BMF.

agencies were “our Climate and our Social Constitution. As to climate, we are distinguished from all other English-Speaking people. By our institution of slavery, we are separated from almost all the civilized world.”

Climate was only a minor player in Manly’s construction of Southern identity, largely because there was no clear dividing line between Northern and Southern parts of the United States, as the Alps provided for Europe or the Himalayas for Asia.²² While differences within the United States could be seen clearly in “those who went the extreme in either direction,” Basil quickly passed to a discussion of the effects of slavery on Southern society.

“The institution of slavery,” Basil wrote, “is one peculiar in its character, mixing itself with all the relations and habits of life, and permeating with its influence every part of our civil order, our social organization, and our domestic arrangement.” He avoided any discussion of the morality of slavery, arguing that “whether good or evil,” it was and ought to be a permanent fixture of Southern life. Just as “safety requires its continuance, integrity and honor demand it.” Even if the moral case against slavery could be made, “we cannot honorably sell out and run away. Even liberating” the slaves “only shifts the burden, does not remove the responsibility as our brother’s keeper.” Basil noted that some southerners had emancipated their slaves; “others still less wisely left them free by will--both failed and must answer to God for the discharge of their duty.”

²² By this point, American culture was increasingly divided North and South. A generation earlier, Basil might have chosen the Appalachian Mountains as a natural border between two other cultures, the American East and West.

Basil returned to the subject of his speech. Originally, he had intended to develop an argument that “the existence of slavery among us has a tendency to repress crime.” The cause of theft among “the lower orders of society elsewhere,” Basil argued, was physical hunger; with no ability to provide for themselves, they resorted to theft. “The reward for honesty” among such people was “the certainty of starvation.” On the other hand, “the slave knows no such idea as the dread of starving” and had no reason to commit the crime. Likewise, if the slaves had no incentive to steal, the master would have even less, since he would find “himself degraded at once” as one who had committed a crime even slaves would not commit.

Certainly, the weakness of the argument and the empirical evidence against it were the reasons Basil crossed out those paragraphs and began again. Eventually, Manly arrived at four peculiar characteristics of Southern society caused by the influences of slavery.

First, slavery created a “most interesting and intimate connection” between master and slave which gave “opportunity for some of the noblest emotions and most honorable displays of character.” Slaves tended to display “affection and confidence” toward their masters; masters displayed “judicious indulgence” and “a perpetual sense of responsibility.” Where abolitionists had argued that slavery “must necessarily render the master arrogant, arbitrary and cruel and training up race of children to be merciless and unscrupulous tyrants,” the “actual facts prove that it tends to cultivate a spirit of lofty and tempered courtesy” and gave the necessity of developing “self-control.”

Second, slavery was responsible for the abolition of “invidious distinctions” in society, since “a larger proportion of the whole people are thrown into the higher class than in any other nation.”²³ The “aristocracy of color” had, in fact, created a meritocracy in which “if a man have merit, birth is no obstacle to his rising.” With all white people in this aristocracy, there was a higher “incentive to industry.”

Third, slavery locked the South into being “for the most part an agricultural rather than a commercial people.” A reliance on agriculture brought several advantages. It brought “men more directly into contact with his maker than any other pursuit.” It supported a sense of “individual independence and the love of liberty.” An agricultural society avoided “the evils of a dense population, while it must be admitted,” Basil added, that “it loses some of the advantages derivable therefrom.”

Basil also saw an advantage to plantation agriculture which made it more desirable than the forms of agriculture in the north. Planters were forced to “dispose of their crops en masse” and therefore had “less of a spirit of trade than the small farmers of other regions” who had to “sell in fragments the products of daily diligence.” The planter’s avoidance of “rigid and close dealing” involved in managing “the small gains of innumerable petty transactions.” Such a financial situation, Basil argued, “tends to stimulate liberality and generosity” and “cultivates public spirit.” For comparison, Manly turned to Rome, in which “patriotism survived and flourished during agriculture” but “the introduction of the commercial spirit” and “the thirst for gold swallowed up the ancient

²³ Interestingly, “including the servants themselves” is crossed out.

virtues.” There was a downside to this situation; “several of the Southern states for having been first in the confederacy have fallen behind some of their Northern sisters.”²⁴ Southerners had “become so interested in Uncle Sam’s welfare as completely to forget the necessities of some of his nieces and nephews,” the economic development of their own states. Even so, “we may well afford to be without apparent progress if we can also be found free of the real vices which have beset our neighbors.”

Third, a reliance on slavery for its labor force had caused the South to “repel immigration” of laborers from Europe. “This gives us a more homogeneous population,” Basil argued. Of “the evils of a conflict of races” such as Northern society had engendered, Basil hoped, Southerners would forever be true “‘Know-Nothings.’” The “comparatively small number of foreigners” blended well into Southern society, having “cheerfully coalesced with our habits,” and Southerners had no fear of them; instead, because their numbers were so small, immigrants were greeted with a “jolly welcome.”

Fourth, the climate and labor force had created within the South an appreciation of leisure time unknown to Northerners. A hand-written note placed in Manly’s notebook at this point reads, “I have come to the conclusion that this thing called leisure is a myth--a fanciful device of some inventive genius--a fairyland--no real existence.”²⁵ The South which Basil described may well have been a similar fairyland; yet he continued to apply his inventive genius to other aspects of Southern culture.

²⁴ By “confederacy,” Manly means the United States.

²⁵ Scrap, n.d., BMF.

Manly was especially interested in the literature of the South; or rather, in the remarkable absence of a large body of Southern literary production. As early as 1843, he had written about this puzzling absence. Around the world, the southern regions tended to produce more literature than the northern regions, he argued. The southern regions were "the clime of the heart;" "arguing from analogy," the American South ought to have been the "peculiar home of Literature." Even more than climate, the South had another advantage. Writers should have been inspired by the history of their region, or rather from the lack of one. "In our history," he wrote, "we possess a striking advantage over our Northern neighbors--They know their origins. Every item of it is detailed and recorded and no where can imagination find a spot not already touched and disenchanted by the chilling hand of history." Everything in their history, Basil wrote, from "their landing on a rock" to the present, was known. "With us however the case is different." The South had "no fabulous original, no golden age of our history . . . no glowing mythology." Instead, "the early history of our country is all romance."²⁶

Why then had the South failed to produce a corpus of literature? Manly was still confused a decade later. Again, Basil looked to the European experience. "The genius of Southern lands is for the most part characterized by an impassioned glow of feelings, an exuberant richness of conception, a luxury and warmth of imagination, which tells of the

²⁶ Incomplete Manuscript, November 28, 1843, BMF. Basil stopped writing the piece because another student, A. B. Meek, had presented a paper on a similar topic entitled "The Southwest and the Southron." "Thus two days have been wasted" in its composition, Basil mourned.

sun under whose beams it was nourished.” The “more coldly correct specimens of Northern art” lacked the “profuse imagery,” the “gushing motion,” and the “chivalric ardor and devotion” of the literature of Southern Europe. As evidence, Basil pointed to George Gordon, Lord Byron, who abandoned the “sickly sentimentality” of his early works when he traveled South, writing with more “warmth and energy.”²⁷

Basil never reached a conclusion concerning why “the peculiarities of Northern literature . . . better fitted for Calvin and Scientific investigation,” had so outstripped the South.²⁸ In no other “field of exertion when fairly called out, and placed side by side has the Southron quailed or given back before his Northern Competitor.” He could not understand why “it has come to be thot by others and almost by ourselves that we are scarcely equal” to the North, with “no chance for competition.”²⁹ Perhaps Basil hoped that the vindication of the South by the Panic of 1857 would stir Southern confidence.

Meanwhile, the financial situation of the Richmond Institute worsened, and rather than plan for their own school, the father and son needed to find a place for Basil--quickly. Basil, Sr., intervened with several schools on which he served as a trustee, securing the possibility of a vice-presidency of the Alabama Female Seminary--“you may take the presidency by and bye [sic]”³⁰--and another possibility of a professorship at

²⁷ “The South a Home for Literature,” unfinished speech manuscript, n.d., [1850s], BMF.

²⁸ Scrap, n.d., BMF.

²⁹ “Duty of the South to Itself,” undated, unfinished manuscript, 1850s, BMF.

³⁰ Letter from Father to Basil, November 2, 1857, MFC.

Judson College.³¹ When Basil, Sr., was offered the presidency of Howard College, it seemed that the father and son might work together after all when Basil, Jr., was simultaneously offered the position of “Professor of Belle Lettres.” “As to the Howard, if Father should go there—I’ll go too, I believe.”³² This possibility did not excite his younger brother Charles, who protested vehemently. “I must confess that I dislike with all my heart the idea of you (i.e. either you or Father) becoming connected with the Howard in any form or shape—I almost wish it had never come into existence. I see very little use for it.”³³ An offer to Basil, Jr., of the presidency of Union University provoked a similar response from Basil: “I could never succeed in Tennessee.”³⁴

In the scramble to find a position, Basil, Sr., made a suggestion which Basil practically ignored. Basil, Sr., was deeply involved in the movement to found a theological seminary for Southern Baptists; as one of the best known Baptist clergy in the country, the possibility that he would head the seminary was a good one.³⁵ James P. Boyce, who had been a childhood friend of Basil’s in Charleston and a parishioner of

³¹ Letter from Father to Basil, undated, 1857, MFC.

³² Letter from Basil to Charles, January 7, 1858, BMSHC.

³³ Letter from Charles to Basil and Charlotte, January 11, 1858, MFC.

³⁴ Basil is apparently referring to the presence of J. R. Graves in Tennessee; the “Landmarkers” were hostile to the Manly family’s more “Charleston” style. Letter from Basil to Charles, January 7, 1858, BMSHC.

³⁵ Manly, The Manly Family, 122-123.

Basil, Sr., joined with Basil, Sr., in planing the future school.³⁶ Boyce, in fact, planned for Basil, Sr., to be “a sort of general head of this Theological School, with Homiletics and Pastoral Duties--or something of that kind.”³⁷ And as the father reminded the son, “in whatever college or school I might be, I could find a place for you, before long.”³⁸ In his preliminary plans, Basil, Sr., “had marked out for the faculty Broadus and yourself, Boyce and Winkler” if South Carolina Baptists could raise \$100,000 to plant the seminary in that state. “If that fails, I could go to wherever (I reckon) take Boyce Williams and you and either Broadus or Winkler for Theology.”³⁹

Basil, however, was sinking into another melancholic period as the future looked bleaker and bleaker. “I am at the end of the row,” he wrote his parents. “I dislike the idea of being a passive thing, drifting about, yielding to the mere force of circumstances, instead of rising superior to them and controlling them; and I am afraid that that is what I am tending to become now.” In his melancholy he had become “a dull lazy beast,” but he was not so passive that his feelings toward the Institute were not clear--“I will not, after the present year, undertake the home charge, the household management, and the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 112;

³⁷ Letter from Father to Basil, December 4, 1857, MFC.

³⁸ Letter from Father to Basil, November 10, 1857, MFC.

³⁹ Basil, Sr., had in effect sketched out the first faculty of the seminary which would eventually be formed. It is an interesting letter for another reason; as member of the committee organizing the seminary, Basil should have been aware of Boyce's negotiations with Basil, Sr. Letter from Father to Basil, November 10, 1857, MFC.

responsibility of a parent for girls. Teaching them I do not dislike; overseeing them I do; and I will no longer be forced into it." Basil concluded this forceful protest, "What next, I don't know. God will provide."⁴⁰

The uncertainty of his future was tolling. "There is no telling what will happen between now and July," he wrote his parents, "but I think I am very strongly drifting toward the determination to relinquish this post." Basil gave a good picture of his mindset: "It is inclination now, and conviction too, it only lacks the continuance and demand of decision to make it determination."⁴¹

At a time when his finances were at the forefront of his worries, Basil was hit with another financial blow. Hiram Reed, the Philadelphia publisher to whom Basil had sold the Memorial, had defaulted on the payment for the magazine. "Now he writes begging me to release him from the note and let him substitute a note of \$1000 instead of \$1300 and odd which he was to pay." Basil determined that it was worth a journey to see Reed; "I think perhaps by seeing him I could bring him to some sort of settlement," and along the way visit Charles in Princeton, where his brother was attending seminary.⁴² Two

⁴⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 13, 1857, MFC.

⁴¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, January 4, 1858, MFC; "I can't decide until next Spring. What may happen between now and July, I can't tell--But I think I should leave here then." Letter from Basil to Charles, January 7, 1858, BMSHC.

⁴² Letter from Basil to Parents, January 25, 1858, MFC.

months later, he contracted to sell the bulk of his land in Alabama, but the purchaser was unable--or refused-- to send the purchase price.⁴³

Basil continued to waver in his thoughts of the future. Of one offered position, he wrote his father, "As to Secretaryship of Publishing Society . . . I don't know." The position offered "little profit, no honor, and hard work," and he would have to deal with "the whims and oppositions of fanciful people."⁴⁴ He even considered taking a pastorate, despite his misgivings about his abilities in the field. "I believe I am averse to almost anything that would be proposed to me, other than a pastorate." Charlotte had some influence on this line of thought. "Wife seems much inclined that way: and you won't blame me for giving great deference to her feelings." With some comment on their married life, Basil reported that "she says she had more real happiness during the 2 years that I was Pastor, after she married me, than she ever had in her life, before or since. 'Them's her sentiments.'"⁴⁵

⁴³ There is no indication of the resolution.

⁴⁴ Basil, Sr., had sent a note to Basil marked "Private": "The Dominie will have to go. Is there anything connected with the Publication Society, the Sunday School work, the Colportage and tract business--or all together that you would like to undertake? In Richmond as a centre? In Charleston? Consider of it, take advice, and speak your mind. B. Manly." "Dominie" was a family code for J. P. Tustin, an apparent and appropriate reference to his high-church Charleston style, since he left the Southern Baptist Publishing Society to become an Episcopal priest. Bill J. Leonard, ed. Dictionary of Baptists in America (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1994), hereinafter abbreviated as DBA, s.v. "Southern Baptist Publication Society (Charleston, S.C., 1847-1863)." "Tustin is not Baptist enough to be a Baptist Editor of Anything." Letter from Father to Basil, May 25, 1858, MFC.

⁴⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 4, 1858, MFC.

In his uncertainty, his melancholy deepened. "I'm coming to think I'm not fit for much of anything," Basil told his parents. He was "losing my interest" in teaching and did not "go at it with the zeal I once found,"⁴⁶ tiring of the "delightful task--young giddy girls to guide, and cross grained teachers to keep straight."⁴⁷ To a colleague he wrote, "It is time that I was deciding about my future but I have as yet taken no positive step." Although he was confident that he should resign, he had been avoiding the issue. His thinking about the subject was accompanied by "some conscious mortification and reluctance." "I don't know that I could now state the reasons (just offhand and without rest). . . . The cause is that I have not been thinking of the subject."⁴⁸

An offer came to Basil, the suggestion of which he had previously ignored--to serve as Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at the planned theological seminary. Basil recognized the "great responsibility in assuming such a post" and also recognized that "I am not fit for the place: that is clear." At the same time, "they seem to think I am as fit as anybody they can get, and I can try to become qualified."⁴⁹ He set about thinking of his new responsibilities "if I undertake it." Hebrew had always been his weak spot as a biblical scholar. He wrote his parents, "I turned over my Hebrew books a little this

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 9, 1858, MFC.

⁴⁸ The recipient is probably Boyce, since he reports on his progress on the Abstract of Principles. Letter from Basil to My Dear Brother B [Boyce?], March 1, 1858, BMSHC.

⁴⁹ Letter from Basil to Mother, May 8, 1858, MFC.

morning. I find I have grown amazingly rusty.” But he decided to write to his brother Charles, then a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, and ask for the names of “all the text books used in Hebrew course at Princeton together with any Books of Reference mentioned as desirable.”⁵⁰

From the beginning, it was clear to Basil that his decision to accept or refuse the position was dependent on the decisions of the other appointees. “If the other brothers elected should accept, it seems to me pretty plain” that it was “my duty to accept the office;” but “if not, I rather think the enterprise is a failure.”⁵¹ His father advised him to follow his own counsel. Basil should delay his decision “till you see who are to be your associates,” and the elder Manly refused to push his son to accept. “If you do not like to accept at Greenville, you need not. You may find other business that will support you.”⁵²

Basil’s mother was more adamant in her feelings about Basil’s future--and she was opposed to his accepting the position. She advised Basil that Greenville, South Carolina, the proposed home of the seminary, would be far more expensive than Richmond. She felt “great anxiety” about her family becoming “scattered widely”⁵³ and told her son clearly, “I dread your going to Greenville.”⁵⁴ She expressed anger at “a

⁵⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 12, 1858, MFC.

⁵¹ Letter from Basil to Mother, May 8, 1858, MFC.

⁵² Letter from Father to Basil, May 24, 1858, MFC.

⁵³ Letter from Mother to Basil, May 13, 1858, MFC.

⁵⁴ Letter from Mother to Basil, June 8, 1858, MFC.

man,” husband of one of her friends, who moved his wife away from her friends and business (she was a school-mistress) for his own economic interests; Basil’s lesson was presumed to be self-evident. “I am beginning to think,” she wrote at the thought of Basil’s moving, “that it will ever be our lot in this world to live in a constant state of anxiety and care. At times this seems hard to bear.”⁵⁵ In time she would reconcile herself to the possible change--“the path of duty is the path of safety. . . . Your father and you and Charles,” however, “are better able to discuss this subject.”⁵⁶

Basil decided to wait until others had announced their decision before deciding himself. “I confess my own decisions depend somewhat on the way in which they go. . . . I should not say that but that is my idea.”⁵⁷ There followed a frantic search for the latest news and rumor from the other elected professors.

E. T. Winkler, Manly’s seminary friend at Newton and Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, was one of the key appointees. As Basil’s close friend, his decision would be important. Determining what that decision would be was difficult. Basil’s parents, for example, passed on conflicting rumors in the same letter--Sarah claiming that Winkler would not take his ill wife to the colder climate of Greenville, Basil, Sr., that Winkler was in preparation to announce that he would accept the chair.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Letter from Mother to Basil and Charlotte, June 21, 1858, MFC.

⁵⁶ Letter from Mother to Basil ad Charlotte, November 12, 1858, MFC.

⁵⁷ Letter from Basil to Mother, June 8, 1858, MFC.

⁵⁸ Basil, Sr., included the rumor at the bottom of a letter from Sarah; he may not have read what she had written. Letter from Mother to Basil, May 13, 1858, MFC.

By late May, it became apparent that Winkler would not be joining the seminary, despite Boyce's charge that he was "throwing away his energies" in remaining in Charleston to revive his church.⁵⁹ A mad hunt went on for his replacement.

Political considerations were as important as theological positions in choosing the professors. Basil, Sr., suggested several men, each with their own problems. Either Henry Holcomb Tucker, an attorney turned Professor of Metaphysics at Mercer University in Georgia, or William Williams, an attorney turned Professor of Theology at the same school, "may be had, for one place."⁶⁰ Their ability to raise funds was important: "Williams would carry Georgia better than Tucker," he believed, although intellectually, "Tucker has points equal to those of Williams."⁶¹ Another possibility was D. R. Campbell, "more of a man than I had any idea of before I saw him," but his ethnic background raised some concerns. "It is not often that a scotchman changes his religion," Basil, Sr., advised, "but when he does, he is very apt to be unable to stop." Campbell ought not to be approached until it was determined "certainly . . . if his doctrines are right."⁶² Thomas F. Curtis, Basil's childhood pastor, was yet another possibility. "He had been shrinking from the doctrine of inherited depravity when he was in Tuskaloosa,"

⁵⁹ Letter from Father to Basil, May 24, 1858, MFC.

⁶⁰ ESB; Letter from Father to Basil, May 24, 1858, MFC.

⁶¹ Letter from Father to Basil, May 24, 1858, MFC.

⁶² Most likely, this would be Duncan R. Campbell, Manly's predecessor at Georgetown College. Letter from Father to Basil, May 25, 1858, MFC.

however, referring to the doctrine of original sin. "This doctrine is fundamental--it is the diverging point of all heresies and errors." Curtis, Basil, Sr., decided, simply would not do. However else he would be willing to work with Curtis, "I would not compromise with a man who denied or doubted" the doctrine "when appointment to a Theological chair was the matter at issue."⁶³

It became increasingly uncertain that any young denominational leader other than Boyce would accept a position in the proposed school. "If you do not accept," Basil's father teased him, "Jeter's time may come. He seemed greatly delighted with his one vote. I got as many as that. It would be queer if we, old men, should have to take hold of that concern and start it for you."⁶⁴ By June 8, 1858, not only had Winkler refused, but John Broadus as well; and A. M. Poindexter, Secretary of the Foreign Missions Board, refused to replace either. Basil's mother believed they had behaved dishonorably, allowing themselves to be elected and "published all over the country" then refusing to accept the position; she believed they sought the honor of the election but were unwilling to take the responsibility of the actual position.⁶⁵

For whatever their motives--and Sarah seems harsh in assigning them--only Boyce, who was firmly committed to the seminary, had accepted his election. Support for

⁶³ Curtis would indeed later divert even more from Baptist orthodoxy. Letter from Father to Basil, May 25, 1858, MFC.

⁶⁴ Letter from Father to Basil, May 24, 1858, MFC.

⁶⁵ Letter from Mother to Basil and Charlotte, June 21, 1858, MFC.

the endeavor, never strong, seemed to have died; an appearance by Jeter, Broadus, and Poindexter at the annual meeting of the Rappahannock Association failed not only to raise any funds, but to secure a resolution of support.

Basil's last year in Richmond was full of the same problems which had caused him so often to want to leave. Determined not to deal with the boarding management and disciplinary problems of the students, he sought a suitable house-mother, but had difficulty securing one. The best had gained their experience in Charleston, and Basil, Sr., suggested at least one; but in Richmond, the Charleston women seemed "too high falutin'." They "may suit some of your grand folks in Charleston; but we are too plain and old fashioned. The contrast would be glaring."⁶⁶ His father did "the best I can do" in suggesting jokingly that Basil "just get a bonnet for the back of your neck and put the rest in hoops--and make a 'Oman out of yourself, and fire away."⁶⁷ Perhaps Basil found some ironic consolation in the fact that he at least had fewer students to oversee--he expected only 150 total, down 118 from the high enrollment of three years earlier.⁶⁸

Basil's attention was diverted from the problems of the Institute by the illnesses of his extended family and by several controversies which swept Virginia Baptists in his last year in Richmond. Visiting her parents in Charleston in early August, Basil's sister Abby contracted a fever which may well have been an early case of the yellow fever which

⁶⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 18, 1858, MFC.

⁶⁷ Letter from Father to Basil, September 11, 1858, MFC.

⁶⁸ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 2, 1858, BMSHC.

broke out in strength a week after her child died, presumably from the same fever.⁶⁹ “Prison bound” in the upper floor of the house, believed to protect the family from contracting the fever at a lower altitude, his father had little to do but write letters concerning the epidemic.⁷⁰ While Charles, visiting Charleston for the summer, ministered among the ill and mourning, Basil, Sr., passed on news of the town as the epidemic grew.⁷¹ In October, the worst news came. “I will disguise nothing,” his father wrote Basil, “my dear wife has the fever, at last, severely.”⁷² Within two weeks, Basil’s younger brothers were infected; James had developed a full case and Fuller had contracted a “brush” of it. “Your mother is afraid Abby will break down” from her constant care of the ill within the family.⁷³ Although the family in Charleston survived the epidemic, the steady flow of worrying news surely caused anxiety among the Manlys in Richmond.

⁶⁹ Letter from Father to Basil, August 6, 1858, MFC; Letter from Charles to Basil, August 9, 1858, MFC.

⁷⁰ Letter from Father to Basil and Charlotte, August 15, 1868, MFC.

⁷¹ The family letters from the period, especially those at Furman University, contains a wealth of information on the medical care of the sick and the attempts to avoid the disease by the well. Letter from Father to Basil and Charlotte, August 15, 1868, MFC. See also Margaret Humphreys, Yellow Fever and the South, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

⁷² Letter from Father to Basil, October 21, 1858, MFC.

⁷³ Letter from Father to Basil, November 4, 1858, MFC. “We thought we loved her before, but she has endeared herself more than ever to us by her unshrinking devotion.” Letter from Mother to Basil and Charlotte, November 12, 1858, MFC.

"What a day of strife this seems to be!" Basil wrote his mother in November. Many of the religious controversies of the time appeared in Richmond that fall. The "organ question" arose in the church he attended, Walnut Grove. More important than it may seem at first glance, the placement of organs in Baptist churches was a divisive issue throughout the ante-bellum period. Symbolically representing the ascendancy of the high-church "Charleston" style in the denomination, organs were often hotly opposed.⁷⁴ A "special church meeting" was called at the Walnut Grove church to discuss the matter. "It was decided in the negative, pretty largely." Basil voted against the placement himself, although he publicly expressed in some detail his "personal preference for it."⁷⁵ Despite his own feelings, he was "unwilling to do violence to the feelings of our valued and beloved brethren who were earnestly, and some of them conscientiously, opposed to its introduction."⁷⁶

Manly inadvertently placed himself in an inter-denominational conflict at the same time. One Sunday, The Reverend Thomas Hooper, pastor of the Pole Green

⁷⁴ Richmond Baptists were decidedly not like those in Charleston; the installation of "spitboxes" in the pews, for example, brought no conflict. Letter from Basil to Parents, March 7, 1859, SBCHA folder 2. More controversies regarding church music in Richmond are discussed in First Baptist Church, 63-65, 149.

⁷⁵ He kept an organ in his study, and it and his violin were some comfort to him in his low spirits. Letter from Basil to Parents, September 18, 1858, MFC. Basil did keep a subscription list to raise funds to install an organ at Richmond Female Institute; BMF.

⁷⁶ That Basil believes some of the earnestness was not conscientious suggests that opposition to the organ was in part based on its symbol of Charleston dominance. Letter from Basil to Mother, November 7, 1858, MFC.

Presbyterian Church, preached a sermon on the importance of infant baptism. By coincidence, the next Sunday Basil, with no knowledge of Hooper's sermon, preached at Walnut Grove Baptist Church on the importance of believer's baptism. Local Presbyterians took Manly's sermon as an attack on not only their beliefs but on their pastor, and the Baptists of Walnut Grove rallied to support Basil. A member of Walnut Grove, Dr. Cullen, began writing a pamphlet supporting the Baptist view of baptism.⁷⁷ Since Basil was seen as having started the conflict, he was asked to edit the poorly written pamphlet, but instead found himself duty-bound to re-write it--an extra task of which he complained to his parents.⁷⁸

Perhaps the most serious controversy involved a complex web of issues surrounding the revision of the Authorized, or King James, Version of Scripture which had been translated in 1611. Some Baptists opposed any revision of the traditional version with which they were so familiar; others opposed the united effort of Northern and Southern Baptists on translation committees; others thought the committees poorly chosen and organized. Although Basil strongly supported a revision of the Authorized Version--he conducted his family devotions from the "free translation of the New Testament" in order to teach his children "God's word as he gave it"--⁷⁹ he was not a

⁷⁷ Letter from Basil to Mother, November 7, 1858, MFC.

⁷⁸ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 16, 1858, MFC. The controversy spread beyond Richmond; Basil mentions an attack on him from a Presbyterian minister in Hanover. Letter from Basil to Parents, December 8, 1858, MFC

⁷⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 23, 1861, BMSHC. See also Manly's article, "Advantages of the Revised Bible," Seminary Magazine. 4, April 1891.

strong supporter of the American Bible Union. "That a revision of the [Authorized] translation is desirable and requisite, I am daily more and more convinced. . . . It will have to be done." Such a revision ought not to be the work of one denomination, however, and "I don't believe this Bible Union will produce the version that we want." When Thomas Armitage, President of the Union, announced that he was visiting Richmond, Basil was less than supportive before he arrived. "I am not so opposed to the concern as I used to be, tho I am not quite prepared to give my adhesion to them." Something would be expected of him, however, and so "I think I shall give them a small subscription." On second thought, "perhaps I should have nothing to say."⁸⁰

Armitage's presentation proved to be embarrassing, and "rather set me back" from any support of the Union at all.⁸¹ "If the effort of Dr. Armitage is any fair sample of the scholarship which is the controlling body, I am disappointed and sorry to find that so much puff is made about so windy a concern." Armitage "made several palpable blunders" of which "every Sunday School boy . . . knew better." Armitage's main point--and Basil's as well--in calling for a revision of Scripture was that readers had to rely on the authority of "the learned" to explain archaic English words in the older translation--"they could tell us or not as they pleased"--and Christians could not read "God's word"

⁸⁰ Letter from Basil to Mother, November 16, 1858, MFC.

⁸¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 14, 1858, MFC. Basil, Sr., wrote that the Union "would not get a Baptist twinge from me." Letter from Father to Basil, November 29, 1858, MFC.

for themselves. Armitage gave several examples of the confusion caused by archaic wording. Unfortunately, he did not seem to know the meaning of several of his examples himself. "Sodden" and "seethed," identified by Basil as both older words for boiling, Armitage revised but "got them wrong--tho he repeated and urged his point." Armitage identified the "earring" of a field as "gathering the ears of grain," although Basil's knowledge of Saxon and Latin roots led him to the conclusion that "it was simply an obsolete word for 'ploughing.'" As an example of the incomplete work of the King James translators, Armitage gave the phrase "Anathema Maranatha" from I Corinthians 16:22. To Basil's embarrassment, he not only incorrectly identified the phrase as Latin, but incompletely gave the translation himself.⁸² Armitage's presentation the next evening was more subdued. "Armitage was told of his blunders, and it evidently cut his comb some. . . . He spoke much better" but "no appeal for funds was made."⁸³

In the midst of these controversies, a son was born to Basil and Charlotte on November 26, named George Whitfield on the suggestion of Basil, Sr.⁸⁴ Unlike her

⁸²Letter from Basil to Parents, November 14, 1858, MFC. Some indication of his forgotten Hebrew is that he resorted to Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon, and not Hebrew, for his critique of Armitage.

⁸³ "It was presented pretty fairly, without heat, violence, or much exaggeration." Letter from Basil to Parents, November 16, 1858, MFC. "Regarded by many as the foremost man in the American pulpit," Armitage had little formal education but did produce the impressive History of the Baptists in 1887. DBA, s.v. "Armitage, Thomas."

⁸⁴ "What shall it be named?" Letter from Basil to Parents, November 26, 1858, MFC. "Call him George Whitfield!" Letter from Father to Basil, November 29, 1858, MFC. The child was named not for George Whitefield, the famous Methodist divine, but for Charlotte's father. Charles thought "there is nothing romantic about that name" and

previous deliveries, the labor was short, “with only two strong pains,” and Charlotte recovered quickly.⁸⁵ When the child developed an aptitude for loud, sustained cries, Basil proudly claimed that “he is strengthening his lungs, so as to qualify himself to be a preacher.”⁸⁶ His own father was more concerned for the practical matters facing the growing family. “Five children in three years! You will need bread and hominy, my boy! So keep a sharp look out.”⁸⁷

By December, even the enthusiastic Boyce had almost given up hope on the new seminary. Boyce had visited Basil, Sr., to discuss the possibility of the elder Manly’s accepting a position as head of the institution. Basil, Sr., was surprised that Boyce spoke “in a loose and general way--showed no zeal, nor strength of conviction on the subject.”⁸⁸ Basil himself showed a similar doubtfulness about the seminary. As his last year at the Institute came to a close, Basil was still uncertain about his next move. In declining an appointment to Judson College, he noted that “I have not yet decided about going to Greenville. I entertain doubts of my being qualified mentally and physically for that

suggested Methusaleh Melchizedek. Letter from Charles to Basil, December 14, 1858, MFC.

⁸⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, November 26, 1858, MFC.

⁸⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, December 19, 1858, MFC.

⁸⁷ Basil, Sr., had miscounted. Charlotte had delivered five children in five years, on average every 15 months. But the elder Manly’s point was well-taken, nonetheless. Letter from Father to Basil, December 23, 1858, MFC.

⁸⁸ Letter from Father to Basil, December 7, 1858, MFC.

post.” Should “those doubts finally decide me to decline it . . . my plans and methods might not suit” the current curriculum at the Judson, since Basil was “unfortunately defective in taste for embroidery.”⁸⁹ Charlotte was pressuring Basil to return to the pastorate; “my wife has a sort of reluctance to going to Greenville,” he wrote his father. Moreover, “she has always been opposed to my having charge of a female school.”⁹⁰

The season of commencements in the South brought Basil honors he did not especially desire--honorary Doctorates of Divinity, first from the University of Alabama and then from Richmond College. “I am not ambitious of such honors,” he wrote his father, “tho I don’t know that there is much humility in my feelings about it. I prefer that people should wonder why he is not dubbed D.D. than to be surprised that he is.”⁹¹ Wanting to be respected for his accomplishments and not his honors, he had not “the least use for it. . . . If the sheepskin I have already, wrapped around me, doesn’t carry me thro, I am afraid that wouldn’t either.”⁹²

The degree from Richmond College, of which he as a trustee, brought him more embarrassment than honor. “I should have protested against their dubbing me--with some

⁸⁹ rough draft of Letter from Basil to Bro. Sherman, March 16, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁰ Letter from Basil to Father, March 17, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 17, 1859, SBCHA folder 2. Basil, Sr., replied that it was commonly known that “D. D.” was an abbreviation of “Dumb Dog.” Letter from Father to Basil, May 23, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹²The “sheepskin” is evidently his own skin. Letter from Basil to Parents, May 21, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

earnestness--had I been present at the meeting," but Basil did not learn of the decision until later. As a "resident and active" trustee, "it might be construed into or imputed to some effort of my own in that direction." The truth was that "I don't care much about it any way."⁹³

The commencement of his own Institute closed his career there. Although the trustees refused to accept his resignation--"they wanted to get all the work out of me they could" before he physically left the city--Basil had finally decided to accept the position in the new seminary in Greenville.⁹⁴ Despite his misgivings about the "incompetency and lack of qualifications" of the faculty, "specially in that of myself," he felt that he "owed the denomination to make a fair and honest effort to establish for the South one decent Theological School." He determined to take the position "for a few years." After all, "in the meantime I shall not lose but gain ground, in general influence."⁹⁵

⁹³ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 1, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, June 13, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

⁹⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 21, 1859, SBCHA folder 2. Basil's feeling of being unqualified is odd; as the only seminary graduate on the faculty, he was the most qualified of them all.

CHAPTER 7
“LIVING IN HISTORIC TIMES:” THE FOUNDING OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND THE CIVIL WAR

Not only were the 1860s the time of the greatest political crisis in American history; the 1860s were the busiest years of Manly’s life. His career as planter, professor, and pastor made it the most diverse period as well. The decade opened in the excitement of a new theological seminary for the South. The first of the meetings which led directly to the creation of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary had been held in Augusta, Georgia, in May, 1856.¹ Basil Manly, Sr., had been named President of the Conference, a title he held until the seminary opened.² A few months later, the political forces within the convention began to vie for the honor of housing the new institution. The South Carolina Baptist Convention in July, 1856, made the most appealing proposal: it would transfer \$30,000 from the theological department at Furman University in Greenville to the proposed seminary, and add \$70,000 in new funding, if Baptists in other states would

¹ Charles Manly, “The Rise of Seminary Sentiment among Southern Baptists,” Review and Expositor, v.12, no. 2, April, 1915, 255.

² Charles Manly, “Rise,” 255; Sampey, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, The First Thirty Years (Baltimore: Wharton, Barron, and Company, 1890), 7. Basil, Sr., would also serve as President of the Board of Trustees until his death in 1868; Sampey, First Thirty Years, 23.

raise a matching \$100,000.³ This proposal was unanimously accepted by the Educational Convention, provided that half of the \$200,000 endowment be raised by May of 1859.⁴

Basil, Sr., created a committee to “report on the modes of organization” for the proposed school. He felt constrained to defend his choices for the committee; Manly “apologized for appointing young men,” but the proposed seminary must be “new and different from anything else.”⁵ “These young men have got to do the work; let them draw the plans,” he wrote Sarah. The older generation of leaders would “be there, when they report, to correct them, if they are wrong.”⁶ To that committee, Basil, Sr., appointed his son, Basil.

Basil was joined by four other young leaders, two of whom he had known since his youth. James Petigru Boyce, at 29 two years younger than Basil, had been a childhood friend in Charleston; both had attended the Sunday School at the First Baptist Church. After graduating from Brown University, he had enrolled in Princeton Theological Seminary in 1849, but left before finishing the seminary program. In his inaugural address as Professor of Theology at Furman University, Boyce called for the

³ Charles Manly, “Rise,” 256; Sampey, First Thirty Years, 7; William A. Mueller, A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 13.

⁴ Charles Manly, “Rise,” 258; Mueller, 13.

⁵ John A. Broadus, quoted in “A Good Man’s Burial,” Louisville Courier-Journal, February 3, 1892, BMF.

⁶ Letter from Basil, Sr., to Sarah, May 9, 1857, cited in Charles Manly, “Rise,” 258.

creation of a theological seminary at Furman, but he proposed that it differ from Northern models. The speech laid out “Three Changes in Theological Education.”⁷ First, no students would be required to have finished a college degree; seminary education should be available even to those qualified to take only a small number of courses. Second, a seminary should offer certain courses only to college graduates, and set those course standards higher than the others. Third, an “Abstract of Principles” should serve as a doctrinal standard for a seminary; each professor should subscribe to the statement and teach in accordance with it. While Boyce has often been applauded for the first of his proposed changes, that decision, and another to begin offering graduate courses in theology had, in fact, already been made by the Furman faculty before Boyce had arrived.⁸

Basil’s other colleagues had varied backgrounds. John Albert Broadus, the same age as Boyce, was the chaplain of the University of Virginia, where he had taken a bachelor’s degree in 1850. In between, he had taught in a rural school, tutored Latin and Greek at the University, and pastored the First Baptist Church of Charlottesville.⁹ Edwin Theodore Winkler, two years older than Basil, had been at Newton with him and was one of the Southern students who left the Institute in 1845. Winkler did not complete his

⁷ The speech is reprinted in H. Leon McBeth, A Sourcebook of Baptist Heritage (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1990), 305-312..

⁸ Charles Manly, “Rise,” 257. Charles cites a faculty report in the possession of Professor H. T. Cook of Furman University.

⁹ ESB, s.v. “Broadus, John Albert.”

theological education elsewhere, however, but found employment as an assistant editor of the Christian Recorder, a Baptist newspaper in Georgia. The pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charleston at the time of his appointment, he was also deeply concerned with the religious instruction of slaves, having written a catechism entitled Notes and Questions for the Oral Instruction of Colored People.¹⁰ William Williams, the oldest member at 35, had graduated from the University of Georgia and Harvard Law School, but had begun preaching after four years of law practice. When appointed to the committee, he had just begun serving as Professor of Theology at Mercer University, the Baptist school in Penfield, Georgia.¹¹

Each member of the committee was assigned a specific task; Manly was charged with drawing up a doctrinal standard for the seminary, a confessional statement to govern its instruction. The result, Manly's "Abstract of Principles," is certainly his most permanent gift to his denomination and to the new seminary. He had no intention of being highly original in his "Confession of Faith for the Theological Seminary:"

I have looked over the older ones [confessions]--and my notion is to make a brand new one--but with a historical basis, drawing it up as far as possible in the language of our oldest--which dates 1643--and where this will not do, that of 1689--which is mainly copied from the Westminster [Presbyterian Confession]--but abridging both, and getting down to an essence.¹²

¹⁰ ESB, s.v. "Winkler, Edwin Theodore." The insertion of the word "oral" in the title was apparently to avoid breaking the legal restrictions on slave education.

¹¹ ESB, s.v. "Williams, William."

¹² Letter from Basil to My Dear Brother B [Boyce?], March 1, 1858, BMSHC.

Manly changed his strategy as he began to work on “my Confession of Faith.”¹³ The 1644 London Baptist Confession of Faith (which Basil always referred to as the 1643) proved too archaic in its language and difficult to boil “down to an essence.” Instead, Basil based his Abstract largely on the 1689 Second London Confession of Faith, itself based in large part on the 1647 Westminster Confession. The 1689 Confession had been adopted by both the First Baptist Church of Charleston in 1700 and the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia in 1742.

Manly greatly shortened the 1689 Confession, and rewrote several sections. At several points, Basil’s concern for avoiding controversy is evident in his choice of words and structure for the Abstract.

One growing division among Southern Baptists, for example, was known as the Landmark Controversy. Among other tenets, the Landmarkers, led by J. R. Graves of Tennessee, held that the only legitimate church was the local congregation of believers, and that there was no “universal church” of all believers.¹⁴ To avoid offending either Landmarkers or traditional Baptist understandings of the church, Manly offered this summary of beliefs:

XIV. The Church

¹³ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 20, 1858, BMSHC.

¹⁴ Landmarkers also held that furthermore, the only legitimate local churches were those practicing “believer’s baptism” by immersion, and that such local churches had existed since the time of Christ in what might be termed an “apostolic succession.” DBA, s.v. “Landmark Baptists;” H. Leon McBeth, The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 446–461.

The Lord Jesus is the head of the church, which is composed of all his true disciples, and in Him is invested supremely all power for its government. According to his commandment, Christians are to associate themselves into particular societies or churches; and to each of these churches he hath given needful authority for administering that order, discipline and worship which he hath appointed."

By leaving the word "church" in lower case and emphasizing the authority of the local churches, Manly constructed an article which would be inoffensive to all but extremists on either side of the controversy.

More puzzling, especially in light of later events, was Manly's rewriting of the article on Biblical authority:

I. The Scriptures

The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God, and are the only sufficient, certain and authoritative rule of all saving knowledge, faith and obedience.

Manly replaced the 1689 Confession's use of the word "infallible" with the word "authoritative," and omits a reference to the "entire perfections thereof."

In two areas, however, Manly chose wording which might have led to further controversy within his lifetime. The Abstract expresses not only the Calvinism of the 1689 Confession, but that of the Charleston Tradition in which he was raised. There is no compromise in the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election: "Election is God's eternal choice of some persons unto everlasting life--not because of foreseen merit in them, but of his mere mercy in Christ." The total depravity of humanity is also clearly stated: humans "inherit a nature corrupt and wholly opposed to God and his law." The perseverance of the saints is also emphasized in an article of that title. In two other areas

of basic Calvinist distinctives, however, Basil was less direct. Addressing the doctrine of irresistible grace--that the elect could not turn away from salvation--Basil omits the phrase "effectually called" in describing the elect. It is clear from the structure of the Abstract, however, that Manly himself held to the doctrine: regeneration is addressed before repentance, for example, and all stages of salvation are attributed first to an act of the Holy Spirit; "saving faith," for example, "is wrought in the heart by the Holy Spirit." The doctrine of limited atonement holds that the salvific work of Christ was performed only for the elect, or in the words of the 1689 Confession, "for all those whom the father hath given unto him." The most controversial doctrine of Calvinism Manly left open to compromise, replacing this phrase with the statement that Christ "died upon the cross for the salvation of sinners." Both those who held to limited and unlimited atonement could affirm such a wording.

Manly also chose an understanding of Communion which was increasingly unpopular with Southern Baptists, who were moving closer to a belief that the elements of the Lord's Supper--bread and wine--were mere symbols, and the service itself but a commemoration of the crucifixion. Manly omitted the 1689 Confession's detailed, Reformed understanding of Communion:

Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this ordinance, do then also inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified and all the benefits of his death; the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally, but spiritually present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to their outward senses.¹⁵

¹⁵ Text of 1689 Confession in Samuel E. Waldron, A Modern Exposition of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith (Durham, England: Evangelical Press, 1989), 361.

Manly retained this understanding, however, in other words of the 1689 Confession, that Communion served “to confirm the faith and graces of Christians.”¹⁶

As was typical, Manly delayed work on the Abstract as long as possible. “I am sweating over the Confession of Faith,” he wrote his father, “which I ought to have got ready some months ago, but as usual with a person of a procrastinate turn, now I must make it up.”¹⁷ In April 1858, it was completed.¹⁸

When the seminary opened its doors in 1859, four of the five members of the committee made up the young faculty; only Winkler declined. As the Professor who taught Hebrew at the Seminary, Manly may well have taught the most unpopular subject. He complained that his students “groan over the Hebrew,” thinking the study of the language “a ‘daghish’ sort of business altogether.”¹⁹ Basil’s experience in teaching the language taxed his confidence in his abilities. “I am learning Hebrew myself, slowly,” he wrote his parents, “and my class are learning it, still more slowly, of course.”²⁰

¹⁶ The 1689 Confession reads, “confirmation of the faith of believers in all the benefits” of the crucifixion. Waldron, 360.

¹⁷ Letter from Basil to Father, April 6, 1858, MFC.

¹⁸ “I finished my Confession of Faith last night, and sent it off to Boyce.” Letter from Basil to Charles, April 20, 1858, BMSHC.

¹⁹ Letter from Basil to Charles, October 11, 1859, MFC.

²⁰ Letter from Basil to Father, December 29, 1860, BMSHC.

As a later president of the seminary would admit, admission standards for the students were low; "many students" took several courses, some over two sessions, without passing any.²¹ Nevertheless, Manly spoke highly of the students in general, "a valuable body of men" despite the presence of "2 or 3 dull chances."²² Twenty-six students attended the first session. Virginia Baptists' fears that Manly and Broadus would attract young Virginians away from the state were realized; ten of the twenty-six were Virginians, more than from any other, including South Carolina itself.²³

Basil seemed to enjoy his teaching, even gradually gaining more confidence in his Hebrew. Within the first year, however, he would find his course load including subjects for which he had not been preparing himself to teach. By the end of the first term, Broadus was too ill to meet his classes. The other three professors were forced to substitute for him. Manly took the course in Greek, Boyce the course in English New Testament, and Williams the course in Homiletics.²⁴ Manly had not been preparing to teach Greek, of course, but had always been more comfortable in Greek than in Hebrew,

²¹ In the first eight years of the seminary, "there were only six Full Graduates." John R. Sampey, Memoirs of John R. Sampey (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1947), 23.

²² Letter from Basil to Charles, October 11, 1859, MFC. Basil wrote highly of Crawford H. Toy, who would replace him at the Seminary; Letter from Basil to Father, November 25, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

²³ Sampey, First Thirty Years, 11.

²⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, December 18, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

and found little trouble with the subject matter, even enjoying it.²⁵ His only difficulty was in preparing the additional lectures, a problem he solved by cutting the class from three days a week to two.²⁶

The first year at the seminary gave Basil the opportunity to learn more about the men with whom he had thrown his lot. Boyce proved to be “a good worker, solid, steady, reliable.” Broadus had “good powers of work,” but Basil worried that he had “taxed them rather too severely” and feared his continuing illnesses would both limit Broadus’ usefulness and increase Basil’s own workload.²⁷ With Williams, Basil was less impressed. “I don’t think Williams can stand much work,” he wrote his parents, “or is willing to do as much as the rest.” He was especially appalled that Williams had “lopped off his number of recitations” to only four class meetings a week--three in his Church History course, only one in Church Government.²⁸ His dissatisfaction continued into the

²⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, January 2, 1859 [sic, 1860], MFC. (Basil’s mistaken date so early in the year is understandable, not only because of the calendar change but because another son had been born that day, Murray Boyce.)

²⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, December 18, 1859, SBCHA folder 2.

²⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 5, 1860, MFC. Basil’s concern for Broadus continued; nearly a year later, he wrote his parents that Broadus “had better watch out” or “he will cave in as he did last year.” Letter from Basil to Parents, February 12, 1861, BMSHC.

²⁸ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 5, 1860, MFC.

next year, when he complained to his parents that “Williams won’t do extra work--says he hasn’t time. So it goes.”²⁹

While the seminary occupied a large part of Basil’s concerns in the 1860s, the approaching Civil War and resulting political chaos, of course, attracted much more of his attention. He would become increasingly swept up in the political and military activities of the decade.

As the election of 1860 approached, Basil seemed to dismiss the threats of secession. All he could foresee, he wrote his father, was “a commercial panic and crash--both North and South...if the Presidential election goes for Lincoln.”³⁰ His letters contained few references to political events. But as the election passed and secession and war seemed likely, he became obsessed with news and political discussion. “It is very clear that I was never cut out for a politician,” he wrote his parents, “but still no man can avoid taking an interest in these matters at such a crisis as this.”³¹ Although “profoundly impressed” with the current of events about him, Basil became “convinced that there is nothing which I can or ought to do that have the least bearing on the movement of public affairs.”³² All he could do was “move on in my quiet sphere, discussing Hebrew roots

²⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 16, 1860, MFC. John R. Sampey, later President of the Seminary, would comment on the first professors: “The teaching might of course have been much better done.” Sampey, *First Thirty Years*, 9.

³⁰ Letter from Basil to Father, October 6, 1860, MFC.

³¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, December 15, 1860, MFC.

³² Letter from Basil to Parents, December 15, 1860, MFC.

and diving into remote antiquities” which did not seem nearly as interesting as the political turmoil. Certain that he was “living in historic times,” he sought information from as many newspapers as possible, including Northern papers such as The New York World.³³ “A certain feeling of anxious suspense, which I can’t get rid of”³⁴ made him “so thirsty for news that I can’t be satisfied without constant and repeated draughts from all directions.”³⁵ “I cannot depend on what I read,” Basil complained about the rumors being reported in the newspapers, yet “still I can’t help reading and guessing and wishing.”³⁶

As late as 1857, he had hoped for the preservation of the Union, even arguing against his father’s well-entrenched secessionist feelings. But the events of 1859 and 1860 drew him closer to a secessionist position. It was not so much Lincoln’s election as political movements after the election which strengthened Manly’s secessionist sentiment. “The development of feelings in the North since the election,” which Basil tracked by reading Northern, Republican papers, led him to believe that there was no alternative but to “withdraw” from the Union.³⁷ “The tone of the Republicans in Congress” frightened him. “Is it not clear,” he asked his father, “that ‘Union’ has become with those men a mere ‘juggling term’--just as ‘Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity’ with the

³³ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 12, 1860, BMSHC.

³⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 12, 1861, BMSHC.

³⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, January 12, 1861, BMSHC.

³⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 12, 1860, BMSHC.

³⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, January 12, 1861, BMSHC.

bloody and treacherous Red Republicans--upon whose steps they seem to be so rapidly following?"³⁸ The calls for enforced "Union" in Northern newspapers, which "would be funny, if it were not also fearful," alarmed him.³⁹ Even "if there were no other grounds for separating from the Union . . . the exhibition of determination to keep us in by force would be itself sufficient."

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union. As secession swept the South, Basil followed the debates in the various states closely, even though he had to depend largely on rumor and conjecture. "I approve of the policy of secret sessions" in the state legislatures, "tho it requires a little self denial to repress our curiosity."⁴⁰ Florida's decision to secede reached Greenville on January 8, 1861. The ringing of the town's bells brought Basil running to the train station, afraid there was news of federal troop movement; he was relieved when the news was only of Florida's secession. "That is good so far," Basil wrote, encouraged that South Carolina was no longer alone. "I hope Alabama and Mississippi will stand on the same platform . . . for otherwise I fear that our folks will get a tremendous thrashing." In late February, Manly was less optimistic. He predicted, with mixed success, that the border states of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky "will doubtless secede--but too late for the best result. An early and decided action would probably have compelled the peaceful recognition of the

³⁸ Letter from Basil to Father, December 29, 1860, BMSHC.

³⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 23, 1861, BMSHC.

⁴⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 12, 1861, BMSHC.

Southern Confederacy.” Their “ill-timed prudence,” Basil mused, “will probably cost many lives.”⁴¹ Early in the secession movement, Basil had been bellicose in his optimism; “The Yankees are stronger than we and can whip us if they have a mind too--but we can stand a good deal of whipping--and the more they whip us--the more they won’t conquer us.”⁴² The children who entertained him and other passengers on a train ride by singing “Oh I wish I was in Dixie” filled him with pride in his state and region.⁴³ By late February, he grew more sober and could “see no possibility, scarcely, of avoiding war. . . .The whole is in the hands of God.” And Basil may have been the first Southern divine to reach the conclusion that the coming war “may be a cup of wrath for our sins” in which God “has mingled these elements of confusion and misery.” Still, God must be trusted; “Tho he kill me,” Basil quoted, “yet will I serve him.”⁴⁴

Lincoln’s inauguration furthered Manly’s concern for the future. “Lincoln’s inaugural has all the softness and purring of a cat,” he noted, “and yet you can’t help but see the claws.”⁴⁵ He was amazed at how easily Lincoln and “the Republicans succeed in

⁴¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 23, 1861, BMSHC. As late as the end of May, Basil maintained hope that “the border class states” would secede; Letter from Basil to Parents, May 20, 1861, BMSHC.

⁴² Letter from Basil to Parents, January 8, 1861, BMSHC.

⁴³ Letter from Basil to Parents, January 5, 1861, SBCHA folder 3.

⁴⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 23, 1861, BMSHC.

⁴⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 8, 1861, BMSHC.

hoodwinking the honest and peaceloving masses of the North,” whom Basil claimed “care little of the matter.”

In the midst of “all our war excitements,”⁴⁶ “the routine of our daily life goes on, almost unchanged. . . . So quiet and orderly is everything that you wouldn’t know, unless the papers told you of it, that we are in the midst of revolution.”⁴⁷ Still, even before the war was underway the Manlys felt the effect of the economic hardships which were to increase. Even as early as the end of December, 1860, it was impossible to find kerosene for lanterns, making it difficult for the professor to study at night.⁴⁸ By March new clothes were unavailable, and the scholar became concerned that new books would soon be scarce as well. Basil, who loved enlarging his library, poked fun at his avocation: “What shall we do without new books? Read those we have, I suppose.”⁴⁹ More than complaining about the lack of goods, though, Manly drew an important lesson. “It surprises me, even now, much as I have known and thought and spoken on our dependence on the North, to see, on consideration, how many things we have been getting” from Northern industry. Nearly every “article of general consumption or use

⁴⁶ Letter from Basil to Mother, April 10, 1861, BMSHC. This letter is written on new stationary bearing the flag of the State of South Carolina. Such extravagant use of paper would be impossible even a few months later, when the family correspondence was predominantly written on torn scraps of previously used paper.

⁴⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 8, 1861, BMSHC.

⁴⁸ Letter from Basil to Father, December 29, 1860, BMSHC.

⁴⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 8, 1861, BMSHC.

except the fruit of the soil” came to the South “either from or through them.” Basil hoped that “perhaps we may become roused to some sort of enterprise now and go to work for ourselves.” Not only did he recognize the implications of this economic object lesson, but he determined “to brush up on my old knowledge about machines and manufacturing and see what we can do here in Greenville to advantage.” Lamentably, he noted that “we lack raw materials for most sorts of business.”⁵⁰

Basil’s growing pessimism in the early days of the war applied to the Confederate government, as well. Although he approved of the Confederate Constitution “very much on the whole” and thought “the changes are judicious,” he was unimpressed with the maneuvering of politicians in his own state and in the Confederate Congress.⁵¹ A local politician who had refused to sign the Order of Secession was now “squirring,” Basil reported, and he was appalled at the politician’s quick change of ideology. “Perhaps he is straight now. He says he is anyway. We shall see.”⁵² More seriously, Basil questioned the values of the Confederate Congress. “I am afraid the old generation of place makers and spoilsmen is not defunct,” he wrote, “and that Montgomery will be infected with them as badly as Washington was.”⁵³ The decision of Congress to move the capital to Richmond a month after the war broke out confused and angered him. “It is putting very

⁵⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 22, 1861, BMSHC.

⁵¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 20, 1861, BMSHC.

⁵² Letter from Basil to Father, no date, early 1861, SBCHA folder 3.

⁵³ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 8, 1861, BMSHC.

tempting bait before the Federalists--to carry the government within 60 miles of their border.”⁵⁴

As an able-bodied man, Basil was automatically a member of the South Carolina Militia, and subject to being called up for service.⁵⁵ In May, 1861, he was recruited to serve as Chaplain in a horse company in Hampton's Legion. John Launeau, the company's officer, promised him that he would only need to serve “during our vacation” from the seminary and pointed out that “the chaplain had no fighting to do, and was in little or no danger.” Basil refused; “I told him that I couldn't consider the question at all.” He would be willing, if necessary, “to go fight,” but “didn't think it duty to leave home now, on such an errand as proposed” when “there were plenty of young men without families, well competent for the post, who would gladly take it.”⁵⁶

As the war progressed, Basil occasionally felt compelled to take a more active role in military affairs. When Charleston, the city of his youth, came under attack in 1863, Basil wrote his parents that “I have been much moved on . . . by an impression or impulse to go there, and do what I can. . . . I feel that I do not want the city to fall without my having contributed to the extent of my feeble ability to prop it up.” He seemed to have no desire for combat--“I suppose I should be of little value and have no ambition for military

⁵⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 22, 1861, BMSHC.

⁵⁵ Basil would serve in the militia until 1869, when he was “exempted as a Minister of the Gospel”. Certificate of Exemption, South Carolina Militia, Adjutant and Inspector Genera's Office, August 3, 1869, MFC.

⁵⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 22, 1861, BMSHC.

honor"--but thought his pastoring skills could be of use. "If in some moment of extremity, I could aid some dying soldier, or help to restore some wounded or sick one--if by the soothing hand of the affectionate watcher, or by the peaceful words of saving truth, I could contribute to comfort those who have periled all for our country, it would be glory for me."⁵⁷ Being unable to arrange to leave immediately, he sent word to Boyce in Charleston that he would come if needed; Boyce replied that "there is not much use for such service as I could render," and Basil remained at home.⁵⁸

In that same month, Basil helped to organize "for home defense 2 companies of exempts--one mounted, the other on foot . . . to provide a suitable reception for raids and raiders in case any should do us the honor." Basil himself joined the "mounted infantry" company, and drilled regularly.⁵⁹ In the confusing days near the end of the war, Basil was called up for militia service and ordered to report to "the camp of instruction" within 24 hours for "immediate service." "I went, but as I was satisfied the order was given under mistake, I made no preparations for remaining." On his way to the camp he met "one of my officers" who told him that "I need go no further; that it was a mistake, and they had no use for me." The weary minister rode the long road back home to find yet another order to report to a different camp the next day, an order which he apparently ignored. The experience did, however, cause him to consider his duty: "there will probably be little

⁵⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 13, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁵⁸ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 23, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁵⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 9, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

demand for my active service in the field, unless I choose to enter it voluntarily. . . .

Ought I to go, of my own accord?" he asked his parents.⁶⁰

His reluctance to serve actively seems to have been influenced by his growing understanding that anything that could be done would only "prop up" the falling Confederacy.⁶¹ There is no record that after the first few months of the war, Basil felt much hope of Confederate victory; he could only speak of it as a remote possibility, and then nearly always in contrast to an almost assured defeat. His pessimism grew throughout the war as the economic stringencies tightened on his family and discouraging war news reached him.

One of the first shortages to cause real concern was the disappearance of salt, necessary to preserve meat. In late 1861, he wrote his brother-in-law Julius, asking him to send a "sack of salt" from his store; "other things I can do without," but salt was essential. "I have not done grieving yet, over that shipload of salt that the Yankees burnt up on the Watson."⁶² By the end of the next year he was desperate. He invested \$100 in a salt company, hoping to get "10 or 12 bushels of salt" in return, but seemed unimpressed with the knowledge these particular saltmakers had of the process. He wrote his father asking him to research saltmaking in Alabama--"Do they use solar evaporation at all?"--and to investigate the frightening folk wisdom that sea salt would not preserve

⁶⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 17, 1865, MFC.

⁶¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 13, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁶² Letter from Basil to Julius C. Smith, October 26, 1861, SBCHA folder 5.

meat after all. Another piece of folk wisdom more accurately held that meat could be preserved by mixing hickory ash with the salt, and Basil asked his father to confirm this hopeful rumor.⁶³

A secondary concern was the low supply of flour. "The Confederacy is cut off from the finest wheat regions it has," Basil warned his father in the summer of 1863, and "large portions of what remained were not planted for difficulty of labor, whites being in the army and blacks being run off."⁶⁴

Manly attempted to find ways to turn some shortages to his advantage. A shortage of shoes made him consider the purchase of a skilled slave shoemaker to provide shoes for his family and slaves. Basil was impressed by one in particular, "an intelligent, bright negro, about 32, makes an excellent coarse shoe" with "considerable expediency and skill." "I am inclined to attend the sale and buy the shoemaker, if he can be got for \$1800 or so." With the slave's ability to earn two dollars a day, Basil saw the purchase as paying "very good interest on the money."⁶⁵ Basil did not purchase the slave, and the next year all his children except Jo were barefoot.⁶⁶ This condition certainly influenced

⁶³ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 14, 1862, SBCHA folder 4. Basil Manly, Sr., responded quickly with a recipe for the use of ashes and salt in meat preservation, Letter from Father to Basil, October 17, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

⁶⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, June 18, 1863, SBCHA folder 5. The wheat shortage is first mentioned in the family correspondence in October of 1862; see Letter from Basil to Parents, October 14, 1862, SBCHA folder 4, where he notes his attempt to purchase wheat "without success."

⁶⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

⁶⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 13, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

his decision to invest in a tanning partnership in Williamston, with an aim at not only providing leather for his family and slaves but at profiting from army purchases.⁶⁷

The shortage of paper affected not only his professional work but his private life.⁶⁸ A family so dependent on correspondence soon felt the irritating effects of paper shortages. Letters were written on scraps of previously used paper; "self sealing envelopes" were rare. Basil carried "a dozen grains of wheat in my vest pocket;" he advised his father to "chew up 2 or 3 of them and they make a capital wafer" to seal letters with.⁶⁹ With his desire for the growth of Southern industry, Basil was proud to write his parents by 1863 on "a piece of our Greenville writing paper--manufactured about 7 miles from here." He noted, however, that it "is rather more crumbly up, as the child would say."⁷⁰

The military progress of the war was as discouraging as the economic hardships. Basil attempted occasionally to devise possible strategies for winning the war, but each attempt left him discouraged. By the end of 1862 he was predicting the rapid end of the war. "If we are victorious, we should of course prefer independence," Basil wrote, but it was far more likely that the Confederacy would have to compromise on "schemes of

⁶⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 27, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁶⁸ The former will be addressed in the next chapter.

⁶⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, June 18, 1863.

⁷⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 9, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

reconstruction” with “our tyrant foes.”⁷¹ By the middle of 1863, he seems to have given up completely and accepted the defeat of the Confederacy as a judgment from God. “Ah me--how sad all our hearts are at the fall of Vicksburg. Dark, dark, dark! . . . Lee is retreating from Virginia. Richmond is beleaguered--Well, ‘Not my will, but thine be done.’”⁷² He lamented the ways in which “this mighty war . . . is stretching out to proportions and protraction far beyond the imagination of the puny mortals who thought they controlled it!” Clearly, the war was a judgment from God, and in vivid imagery Basil mourned the South’s refusal to accept the meaning of that judgment. “We have learned some lessons; but the impression is not yet deep enough, or broad enough. The burning iron must be still deeper stamped into the scorched flesh. Teach us, O Lord, teach us. ‘Nearer to thee--e’en tho it be a cross that raiseth me.’”⁷³

A week later, the minister continued to struggle with God. “The nearer I come to contemplate Yankee rule and reign . . . the more disgust, or rather horror, does the idea excite.” Such thoughts created a deep struggle within Basil’s soul. Could God’s judgment be that harsh? “I do not know that I can say, in regard to it, ‘thy will be done.’” It seems to me that it cannot be God’s will to expose us to the treacherous and malicious malice of that band of robbers and murderers.” Yet the news from the frontlines was bad. “If Charleston falls and Mobile falls, what hope is left us of success in maintaining our

⁷¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

⁷² Letter from Basil to Parents, July 9, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁷³ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 9, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

independence?" The progress of the war and the spiritual struggle which ensued sent Basil into a depressive state. "I feel a gloom of great darkness come over me, when I try to look into the future. I have no heart for any enterprise, hardly any, for even the most necessary labor. . . . And when I think of my children, and what is to become of them--when I seem to see the horizon shutting down like brazen clouds, lose, heavy, and humid all around--I cannot be cheerful. I cannot be active. But I must not give in to this," Basil concluded. "God forgive me, if I yield to a spirit that distrusts his fatherly care."⁷⁴

Basil concluded his "doleful letter" by relating the story of "Old Mrs. Butler, a deaf old lady" who "first learned the death of her son by reading it in the papers." She went into a catatonic state, reviving only at one o'clock the next morning, "continuously begging them to take that heavy weight off her head. Ah me, weights on heads and hearts are all too common."⁷⁵ Basil's melancholic view of events continued throughout the war. "A long and painful struggle is before us," he warned his brother. "No escape offers from this, except in the tame submission misnamed 'reconstruction'."⁷⁶

As the war drew to a close, Basil wrote his parents that "darkness thickens all around us. Yet, thank God, we are still safe, unmolested, and well."⁷⁷ He had spoken too soon. Although no record of the event appears in the family correspondence (perhaps

⁷⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 13, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁷⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 13, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁷⁶ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 27, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁷⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 17, 1865, MFC.

Basil did not want his parents to worry for his family's safety), the Manlys were harassed by Sherman's troops. At some point in the closing days of the war, a band of Federal "stragglers" visited the Manly house "for 'supplies'." Basil was away from home, and Charlotte, at the time very ill, "was forced to give them flour and bacon, a man standing close by telling her to 'hurry and pack it down!'--till the children's blood boiled and they wanted to kill him," Basil's daughter Louise later remembered. The bandits took some jewelry, but, Louise reported proudly, no guns.⁷⁸

Another visitor to Greenville was more welcome. In February, 1865, Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, passed through Greenville, apparently meeting with a group of men which included Manly.⁷⁹ Stephens appeared to be "in feeble health" and "refused to make any speeches--says he has no speech to make." Stephens "seemed sad, but determined. Says we have no choice, but just to grin and bear--fall back before enemy, save our armies, economise our strength and provisions, and worry the enemy out. It may take two or three years." Basil seems to have been impressed by the man, but unpersuaded by his hope for eventual victory.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Manly, *The Manly Family*, 205.

⁷⁹ Manly does not state explicitly that he met with Stephens, but the details of what Stephen's said in the meeting indicate that Manly was present. Basil notes that Stephens was "going home;" Stephens had concluded the unsuccessful Hampton Roads Peace Conference two weeks previously.

⁸⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 17, 1865, MFC. At least one member of the group asked Stephens to push for the recruitment of slaves into the Confederate Army; Stephens said that he disapproved, but that "it will be adopted" anyway. "A man to fight must have a motive," he replied to one man who argued that the helots fought for Sparta.

Basil reported meeting others who agreed with his dismal predictions of rapid defeat. A pastoral visit to W. R. Smith in February revealed that the man “seems to have joined the ‘Croakers’, and to have put on his blue spectacles, so that everything assumes that hue.” Basil did not blame him; “it must be admitted that that is rather the prevailing color now.” While he hoped that “Sherman may get a flogging yet before he gets through South Carolina,” he had no doubt that Sherman would indeed march through the state.⁸¹

In the weeks following Lee’s surrender at Appomatox, Basil was frustrated by the lack of “news that is detailed or reliable.”⁸² “We get no newspapers,” he complained, “so have to rely altogether on verbal reports hastily caught from ‘reliable passengers’ on the train during brief passes at stations.”⁸³ Mail service had ceased; Basil wrote home “every few days,” leaving the letters “to the uncertainty of some passing soldier’s hands--hoping that of them all, some letter may reach you, and assure you of our well being.” The passing of these same soldiers, though, was clear indication that the Confederacy had in fact been defeated. “The men of all the armies are rapidly returning home, some paroled, many others discharged or furloughed by the brief process of just coming.” Their presence forced the citizens to “sett[e] down solidly and stolidly into the conclusion that

⁸¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, February 27, 1865, MFC.

⁸² Letter from Basil to Parents, March 20, 1865, MFC.

⁸³ Letter from Basil to Parents, March 3, 1865, MFC. The Manly family did pass on a wealth of rumors throughout the war; an historian interested in the informal relay of news and rumors during the war would profit from an examination of the papers.

the war is over and we must just take the best we can get, and comfort ourselves by the assurance that 'what is to be will be'."⁸⁴

What the result of Northern victory would be was a concern to most Southerners, white and black, and Manly, as a plantation owner, had cause for more concern than most white Southerners. In June of 1862, after three full sessions of the seminary, the faculty had agreed to suspend the Seminary classes; the school would remain closed for the remainder of the war.⁸⁵ In anticipation of the seminary's closing, Basil had purchased "Mrs. Coleman's place" on the outskirts of Greenville for \$4650 in late 1861. The plantation offered 70 acres of farmland, a fruit orchard, dairy facilities, a house with seven rooms, and its own spring--complete, Basil was happy to report, with a "hydraulic house" which forced water into the external kitchen and house. "The view of Greenville and the mountains is fine," he noted, but the slave quarters would have to be rebuilt--the rooms were "low and uncomfortable . . . not what I would like for servants."⁸⁶ With the necessary modifications to the quarters, Basil was pleased with the property and began to actively live a planter's life.

From an early age, Basil was concerned publicly with the religious instruction of the slave population; privately, he did as much as he could to provide for a rudimentary

⁸⁴ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 1, 1865, MFC.

⁸⁵ Manly, The Manly Family, 204; Mueller, 34-35.

⁸⁶ Quotations are from Letter from Basil to Julius, October 26, 1861, SBCHA folder 3; Manly, The Manly Family, 203.

education for his own slaves. Ben Jinco, the family servant, had at some point been taught to read (most likely by Basil Manly, Sr., who had sent the Jincos to Basil in Richmond); in clear violation of the law, Basil allowed Ben to operate a school for the slaves on his plantation.⁸⁷ At least one letter from Basil's slaves survives.⁸⁸

Manly's first year's experience as a planter was apparently not fruitful; although no record remain of how profitable the crop was, Basil described himself as "playing overseer," a situation which "will not do."⁸⁹ In October of 1862, he found an overseer whom he believed would suit both him and his slaves, with the "faculty of managing hands strictly, but not severely."⁹⁰ William Pearson, a married man with two children, agreed to oversee the plantation for \$200 a year, which Basil described as "high but worth it."⁹¹ Although Pearson had already served an enlistment in the Confederate Army--and

⁸⁷ Manly, *The Manly Family*, 204-205.

⁸⁸ The letter reveals a minimal literacy, but perhaps higher than many poor whites in the same area; it also reveals the leniency of Basil's slave management style, as it concerns a short trip his slaves planned away from the plantation. "Mr. Manly I write you a few lines to inform you that on Tuesday when you left home what I want to see you a Bout it was a Bout the Springs matters and that is this. . . . Eye and Ben like to make soure ingagement about goin to the Springs he hope it gets fildup with Sawvents. . . . you Beplease to send answard as soon as you can when you gets this letter." Letter from Wilson Allen and Ben Jinco to Basil, April 28, 1858, MFC.

⁸⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

⁹⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, folder 4.

⁹¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, folder 4. Since Basil thought paying \$200 a year was a legitimate expense, he must have reasoned that he could have made at least that much more in the previous year. This is another indication of the poor performance of his plantation under his management.

had been discharged after contracting typhoid fever--he was still eligible to be "enrolled and called off." This presented Manly with a problem.

Under Confederate law, the overseer of at least twenty slaves was exempted from conscription.⁹² To keep the overseer in his employ, Basil wrote, "I must contrive, somehow, to have 20 negroes on the place. . . . I reckon I must hire someway enough darkies to make up the constitutional number." After bringing to his plantation the slaves he had inherited in Alabama, he would "have 21 little and big. That, I suppose, meets the requirements of the law. But they are not here."⁹³

Manly apparently never rented the slaves, for Pearson did not stay long in his employ, leaving for reasons which are now unknown. He was replaced by a man named Payne, who soon proved a greater hindrance than a help. In August of 1863, Basil was surprised to discover that his smokehouse was short an incredible 310 pounds of ham. "My corn, too, has surprised me by its swift departure." He was angered to hear the complaint of one "young negro girl" that the meat Mrs. Payne had cooked was "ashy;" he was not angered at the girl, but at Mrs. Payne, for Basil had preserved his meat in ashes and the Paynes had not. The amount taken was far more than could be accounted for by slave theft; in fact, Basil never suggested that it was. It seemed obvious to him that Payne

⁹² On the "Twenty-Negro Law," see James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 611-612.

⁹³ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

had stolen the meat and sold it. But he was left with few options; overseers were in short supply, and Payne was the only one available to him.⁹⁴

"Greenville farms don't pay," Basil decided, and determined to move. He planned to "sell out both plantation and homestead here . . . and with the proceeds establish myself till the war closes on a farm in Abbeville or Edgefield." In addition to his financial losses in Greenville, "I can do more good there as a preacher than I can here; I can keep more of my property out of harm's way; and I can do as much writing or studying--probably more than if I remain here."⁹⁵ Late in 1863, Basil moved to another plantation near Abbeville, "within walking distance" of what had been the home of John C. Calhoun.⁹⁶

A year after moving to Abbeville, the Manlys returned to city life, moving to Fellowship near Edgefield, not far from the plantation.⁹⁷ "To devote myself to the farm, I fear, would spoil a preacher and make but a poor farmer," he decided. Finding a willing partner, Henry R. Williams, Manly arranged to leave active farming. Manly traded a one-third interest in the plantation for lots owned by Williams in Greenville. Manly was to furnish twice the "hands" and supplies as Williams; for serving as overseer, Williams was

⁹⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 27, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁹⁵ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 27, 1863, SBCHA folder 5.

⁹⁶ Manly, The Manly Family, 204.

⁹⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, November 5, 1864, SBCHA folder 5.

credited with supplying two slaves to that equation. The profits of the plantation were to be split into thirds, with Williams receiving one of them and Basil the two remaining.⁹⁸

Forsaking the life of the planter, Basil resumed a more active pastoral work. Since 1861 he had pastored the church in Fellowship; in 1864 he added the churches at Siloam and at Damascus to his care.⁹⁹

The end of the war brought confusion to both Manly and his slaves. In late May, 1865, having "heard that the Charleston Courier (Yankee) contained the proclamation of liberation in this state as in Virginia," Basil "called all the negroes together" and "gave them a little talk," with his partner Williams present. "Perhaps it was premature," Basil later mused, "but we knew they had heard and would hear a good deal on the subject: and perhaps much that was incorrect, and we might do good by a plain talk." A "plain talk" might indeed have done good; in his uncertainty, Basil hardly gave one.

Manly informed his slaves that "there were movements going on which could not well be understood yet," and that "there was a probability that they might, after awhile, become free and have to shift for themselves." Should they be "so declared by competent authority," Basil promised not to "resist it, nor fall out with them about it--but should part with them in all kindness, and with the best wishes for their welfare." But until their freedom arrived, "2 or 3 things I wanted understood." Basil warned them that "if they had anything to live on, they had to make it, and now was the time." Basil advised them

⁹⁸ Memorandum, October 5, 1864, MFC.

⁹⁹ Manly, The Manly Family, 204. MORE

that "I should probably give them a part of the crop--what part I could not say yet," and pointed out to them that "the more crop they made the bigger their share would be. So they ought to do their best, without watching or urging" on the part of Williams, the overseer. Next, Manly addressed the issue of "order and obedience" until the slaves' freedom arrived, telling his slaves that he and Williams would continue to act "as their masters" since they were still, in fact, enslaved. "I expected to make no difference in my treatment of them," Basil wrote, "and should stand no air or assumption on their part." Having sketched the probable future, Basil told them that "if they were satisfied with those terms and work the crop thro, they might do so--if not, the sooner they cleared out the better, for I could get hands enough, very easily, to carry the thing through."¹⁰⁰ After that rather ambiguous presentation--telling his slaves that they were still slaves, but could leave if they were unhappy--Basil concluded with an even more uncertain statement: "I told them--I did not say they were free, they were not; nor that they certainly would be, for that I did not know; but thought probably they would be; when or how I couldn't tell yet." Not surprisingly, "there was not much said in reply," although Basil supposed "they had a grand journey on it that night. Of course," he wrote, "they all wanted to stay."¹⁰¹

If the slaves had little certainty about their future in the first few weeks of peace, Basil was equally unsure of his. "As to our future all is unknown," he wrote his parents. "Yet I am hopeful that this may not be so bad as we had feared." While "we cannot

¹⁰⁰ Basil added that it would, in fact, be less expensive to do so.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 24, 1865, MFC.

expect justice from our conquerors . . . we may expect at least some sort of conciliatory measures which may afford a breathing space, and a time of consideration what to do and which evils to choose, remaining or emigrating."¹⁰² With no access to newspapers, all of Manly's planning had to be based on rumor and conjecture.¹⁰³ "The recent opinion appears to be that reunion with gradual emancipation and a consolidation of the debts of the two governments (which means inevitable repudiation of them both) and a new election for President is the probable result."¹⁰⁴ As to the slaves, Basil hoped a smooth transition could be accomplished, not through "confiscation of property" but through "discriminating legislation and taxation." "I scarcely think," he wrote, "[that] even the Yankees will be mad enough to pass a sweeping decree of instant emancipation."¹⁰⁵

This, however, they did, and Manly was faced with the task of designing a working relationship with his former slaves. In August 1865, Basil wrote of his "ineffectual effort to make a 'contract' with my plantation hands. They do not object to the terms I offer--except that some of them are urgent for 1/2 of Saturday." Instead, they had heard a rumor which Basil believed was "set afloat" by "the negro troops," that

¹⁰² Letter from Basil to Parents, May 1, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰³ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 3, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰⁴ Basil felt a new election was necessary to bring the two nations together, but would not be held if the rumor that "Andy Johnson has been assassinated" were true. Basil arrived at this interesting conclusion because of his belief that "if so, the military leaders will simply become dictators." Letter from Basil to Parents, May 1, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 1, 1865, MFC.

“signing a contract signs away their liberty, and brings them again into bondage.”

Although his former slaves were “quite civil and respectful--have no notion of leaving,” they did their tasks “in rather a slipshod way, but profess to be at work.”¹⁰⁶

News continued to move slowly in the Edgefield District, which added to the uncertainty. “We have been in a sort of shuttered nook,” Basil pictured his family, “inaccessible to much of good or harm, while the great swarm of mighty events has been rushing by, near enough for us to hear its roar and be appalled--but scarcely finding our quiet waters rippled.” As for the town, “there are no mails--few passers--no stores--no public gathering. Ploughs and hoes are busy, and all just waiting.”¹⁰⁷

“Our new masters have not appeared in these parts yet,” and with the absence of federal troops a wave of crime swept the district. “There seems to be no law--no officers--no tribunal to try, or force to repress such cases--so the evil seems rather growing.”¹⁰⁸ Basil’s outrage was directed primarily at plunderers, mostly (in his account, at least) Northern “bushwhackers.” His letters contain accounts of “Yankee” thefts--primarily of watches and horses--and he was particularly appalled at a small group of Union veterans who stole four horses from a group of ladies, making them walk home.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Basil to Parents, August 13, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 24, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Basil to Parents, May 24, 1865, MFC.

¹⁰⁹ Even more infuriating was the treatment given the group of men who chased after them--led by “Major Sloan (paroled)”--and took back the horses without violence. General Brown, the Union commandant, had these men arrested and charged with “bushwhacking.” He ordered them sent to Knoxville for trial, forcing them to run

The “conciliatory measures” from the victorious North which Basil had hoped for failed to materialize. A year after the end of the war, when news from Columbia and Washington were more readily available, it was obvious to him that “Radicalism seems triumphant and jubilant. . . . In the political horizon, all is dark.”¹¹⁰ “There is no hope for the defeat of the Radical Party now. The country is in their hands. Nay,” Basil corrected himself, “rather in God’s.”¹¹¹

alongside the horses with the attributed comment, “I want to see them trot.” Letter from Basil to Parents, May 30, 1865, MFC.

¹¹⁰ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 19, 1866, MFC.

¹¹¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, September 25, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

CHAPTER 8

"IMPECUNIOSITY IS THE TROUBLE:" THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD AND RECONSTRUCTION

In the financial turmoil of the war, Manly recognized that the opportunity had presented itself to meet two of his goals at once. He had long been interested in Sunday School activity, and saw the need for stronger denominational leadership in the development of such schools. He also recognized the financial profit that could be made by writing and publishing Sunday School material; while there is no doubting the sincerity of his commitment to the Sunday School movement, he hoped that income from writing could help him meet the economic needs of his growing family. Soon after the seminary had closed because of the war, Basil launched a campaign to revolutionize Southern Baptist attitudes toward Sunday School development.

Southern Baptists as a group had done little in the field of promoting Sunday School work. The Southern Baptist Publishing Society, founded in 1847, published a small amount of Sunday School literature, as did the Southern Baptist Bible Board, established in 1851. Colporteurs for these bodies had limited success in establishing schools to purchase such material, however.¹ The most success was achieved by the Domestic Mission Board itself, which asked its missionaries to establish Sunday Schools

¹ Lynn E. May, Jr. "A Brief History of Southern Baptist Sunday School Work," unpublished manuscript, SBHLA, 9.

along with churches; however, it produced little support for the training of Sunday scholars.² The Southern Baptist Sunday School Union, founded in Nashville in 1858, had had little chance to accomplish much. The fact that the leader of the Union was J. R. Graves was part of the organization's problem. Already established as a controversial leader among Southern Baptists, Graves criticized what he saw as doctrinal deviation by the Southern Baptist Publication Society; in part, the Union was established to provide Graves and his allies, known as "Landmarkers," a publishing voice officially recognized by the denomination.

The turmoil of the war destroyed the progress of these Southern Baptist bodies. By 1863, Nashville, the headquarters of the Bible Board, the strongest of the Sunday School organizations, was in Northern control; both its executive secretary and its president were imprisoned by federal troops.³ The Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in Augusta, Georgia, in May, 1863, voted to approve the report of a committee, composed of Basil Manly, Sr., and A. M. Poindexter, to close the Bible Board.⁴ Certainly, both financial and political reasons influenced their recommendation.

At the same convention, Basil Manly, Jr., rose to present a resolution calling for the creation of a committee to "inquire whether it is expedient for this Convention to

² May, 10.

³ P. E. Burroughs, Fifty Fruitful Years, 1891-1941: The Story of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1941), 21.

⁴ The resolution used the term "abolished." Burroughs, 21. Poindexter was Associate Secretary of the Foreign Missions Board of the Convention.

attempt anything for the promotion of Sunday Schools.” The resolution passed, and Manly was named chair of the committee. It is unclear if the committee ever actually met; at any rate, its report was already written. In what Walter B. Shurden has called the “Manly Manifesto,” Basil called for an official denominational board to organize and supply Sunday Schools throughout the South.⁵ The Convention responded by creating the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board; Basil was named the president of the new board, and Broadus soon thereafter was named the executive secretary.⁶ Almost immediately, the Board began recruiting missionaries for each state who would direct the work of organizing Sunday Schools.⁷

The creation of the Board was met with some pessimism. “We generally have little difficulty in organizing boards, but making them go is another problem,” Poindexter wrote Basil.⁸ Basil’s brother-in-law, Abby’s husband Dr. William Gwathmey, wrote that placing the Board in the hands of the seminary professors was dangerous; “you have no friends to spare” if a controversy should arise about the “new men.”⁹ A. E. Dickinson

⁵ Walter B. Shurden, The Sunday School Board: Ninety Years of Service (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1981), 13. Burroughs calls the report “a state paper, which was to become an historic document.” He adds that “the paper is itself sufficient to assure for its author a certain immortality.” Burroughs, 22.

⁶ Broadus was paid \$300 a year; Manly was uncompensated. Burroughs, 24.

⁷ May, 12; Burroughs, 24-25.

⁸ Letter from A. M. Poindexter to Basil, April 23, 1863, Basil Manly, Jr. Papers, 1863-1864, Historical Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tennessee, hereinafter abbreviated as BMP.

⁹ Letter from W. H. Gwathmey to Basil, April 29, 1863, BMP.

agreed. "It will not do for the Greenville professors to do all the book-making," he advised pointedly, warning Basil of the trouble a "few grumblers" could raise within the denomination.

Other Southern Baptists were more supportive. "Tell Brother Manly to push on," one supporter wrote Broadus. "I am a centralization Baptist. For 18 centuries we have frittered away our strength, usefulness, and piety for want of cooperation." Thomas E. Skinner also saw the Sunday School Board as a way to help strengthen denominational control of Baptist activity in the South. The best way to show the importance of a strong denomination, he argued was "to present an efficiency suddenly before their eyes as to dazzle away their objections and unwittingly secure their cooperation. The Sunday School movement is calculated to bring this about."¹⁰

It did not take long for the Board to begin publishing Sunday School literature; within two months, books became available. Small music books such as the "Confederate Sunday School Hymn Book" and "The Little Sunday School Hymn Book" provided music for the scholars; George Taylor's "Hints for Originating and Conducting Sunday Schools" provided training for the teachers.¹¹ Boyce contributed "A Brief Catechism of Bible Doctrine," while Manly also authored the catechetical "Little Lessons for Little People" (in two volumes) and "The Child's Question Book on the Four

¹⁰ Letter from Thomas E. Skinner to John A. Broadus, July 11 1863, BMP.

¹¹ Shurden, 14. The first hymn book was ready for publication by July, 1863; Copy of General Letter to Subscribers from Basil, July 3, 1863, BMP.

Gospels.”¹² Not all the educational material was purely religious in nature; an important part of the Sunday School movement remained the teaching of reading, and the Board under Manly published The Sunday School Primer with “simple reading exercises and spelling lessons.”¹³ Manly himself composed an introductory reading book, “Manly’s Primer, or Reading Made Easy for Little Boys and Girls;” it is unclear if it was published.¹⁴

One difficulty in publishing literature was the lack of available paper in the Confederacy.¹⁵ One paper supplier, perhaps to illustrate the shortage to Basil, responded for a plea for printing paper by replying on a torn piece of wrapping paper.¹⁶ A month after the Board’s creation, Basil extended a plea for assistance to an unusual source--northward, to the American Baptist Publication Society. In June, Basil wrote to Richard Fuller in Baltimore to secure New Testaments, whose cost in the Confederacy had risen from five cents to sixty cents as a result of the war shortages. Basil offered to arrange for

¹² Shurden 14; B. Manly, Jr., “Little Lessons for Little People,” no. 1, no. 2. (Nashville: Sunday School Board, 1867), SBHLA; B. Manly, Jr., “The Child’s Question Book on the Four Gospels” (Nashville: Sunday School Board, 1869), SBHLA.

¹³ May, 11.

¹⁴ B. Manly, Jr., “Manly’s Primer, or Reading Made Easy for Little Boys and Girls,” manuscript, BMF. An historian interested in the teaching of reading in the period would benefit from examining the structure of the primer; Manly classifies words according to their length and rhyme.

¹⁵ Letter from J. D. Durham to Basil, July 5, 1863, BMP.

¹⁶ Letter from William Vink to Basil, July 12, 1863, BMP.

them “to be paid for at the close of the war;” Fuller instead arranged for the Northern society to give the Testaments to Basil. Fuller undertook the transfer of 25,000 New Testaments across the battle lines and sent them to Basil.¹⁷

Manly and Broadus continued their Sunday School work for several years after the war was over. Perhaps most importantly, Basil took on a large share of editing, and writing for, Kind Words, a children’s newspaper which began publication in January, 1866.¹⁸ Employing comical pen-names, several authors connected to the seminary presented short articles to children. Basil himself wrote as “Henry Hinter,” “Frank Faultfinder,” “Junior,” and “BJ.” His wife wrote as “Aunt Hattie.” Broadus wrote as “Technophilos” and “J. Lovechild;” William Williams as “Double Doubleyou” and “William Wrinkled.” “Aunt Fanny” was perhaps Fannie Manly, wife of Basil’s younger brother James.¹⁹

¹⁷Letter from Basil to Richard Fuller, June 15, 1863, BMP; “Substance of Dr. Fuller’s Letter as remembered,” September 24, 1863, BMP.

¹⁸The full name was Kind Words for the Sunday School Children, but this full name was rarely used. Kind Words, 1:1, January 1866.

¹⁹By Basil’s wife I mean Hattie, whom Basil would marry in 1869. “Fanny” was a common family name among the Manlys as well, so this may refer to another woman. Information on the pseudonyms, where not self-evident, taken from a handwritten note by Hattie Manly filed with the surviving editions of Kind Words in the SSA. Cox and Robertson make no mention of the female writers. Robertson misreads “Theophilus,” friend of God, for the more interesting “Technophilos;” Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), 209-210; Cox follows this reading, “A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr.” (Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954), 205.

Basil's contributions showed more than even those of the other writers the devastation of the war. As "Junior," he noted in the first issue that Kind Words was "written by people of our own, who live in the Sunny South, and though in sorrow, love still the land of their birth."²⁰ In the next issue, as "Frank Faultfinder," a persona which criticized the newspaper, Basil noted that the paper used in printing Kind Words was "dark, not smooth and white, such as we used to see before the war." "Frank Faultfinder" conceded, however, that "if the paper is dark, it suits the times, for they are dark too . . . a relic of Confederate days."²¹ Basil's sense of loss in the defeat of the Confederacy can be found even in his more scholarly contributions; in discussing the biblical story of Sodom, he wrote, "Some of the children, who see this paper, will know what is meant by a burned city. They have trod sadly over the cinders of their beautiful homes, and wailed amid the ruins of the loved temples where their fathers worshipped God."²² Yet Basil attempted to ameliorate the loss for his readers; "Can we not find some better remedy for 'hard times,' or for oppressions, injuries, and apprehensions than to sit brooding over them?"²³

There was plenty for Manly himself to brood over. The faculty returned to Greenville in the summer of 1865 to determine if the seminary had any future at all. Of

²⁰ Kind Words, 1:1, January 1866, SSA.

²¹ Kind Words, 1:2, February 1866, SSA.

²² Kind Words, 1:6, June, 1866, SSA.

²³ Kind Words, 2:1, January 1867, SSA. Basil's ruminations struck a chord with one reader, who wrote in to note that "Everybody knows the war has broken us." "Letter from Reader," Kind Words, 1:4, April 1866, SSA.

the \$200,000 endowment the seminary had had in 1862, only \$5000 remained. The bulk of the money which had been paid on pledges to the endowment fund was paid in Confederate dollars, now worthless; the remainder consisted largely of bonds given by planters, "as good as gold before the war, but now practically worthless."²⁴ The enrollment was discouraging; only seven students attended the first seminary session after the war.²⁵

Basil's course load was heavy in the first year after the resumption of the seminary; he had twelve class meetings a week, Monday through Saturday, in English Old Testament, Biblical Introduction, and Hebrew. At the same time, he was attempting to compose a "Compendious Hebrew Grammar" for his students, condensing several of the larger, more difficult works available.²⁶

Despite the distractions of the difficult work of rebuilding the seminary, Manly could not ignore the political situation. As Reconstruction policies became more firmly entrenched, Basil resigned himself to Radical victory. "Let the negroes vote," he wrote his father, "since so it must be. We can control their votes, as they will be more concerned for bread and meat, and to please those from whom they got their living, than

²⁴ John R. Sampey, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: The First Thirty Years, 1859-1889 (Baltimore: Wharton, Barron, and Company, 1890), 13.

²⁵ Ibid., 14.

²⁶ Basil taught Hebrew every day. The sources of his grammar were "Gesenius, Ewald, Nordheimer, Green, etc." Basil notes that he is using Smith's Handbook as the text for his English Old Testament course. Letter from Basil to Parents, September 25, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

to sustain the abstractions of the Radical Party.”²⁷ As fears that the Republican Congress would confiscate White Southerners’ property swept the South, Manly seemed unperturbed. “I think Stevens’ confiscation bill is a sort of chained bull dog to frighten folks,” he wrote about the proposal by Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens.²⁸ “Almost anything that is an adjustment is better than this galling suspense,” he told his parents.²⁹ To his brother Charles, who expressed concerns about confiscation, Basil replied, “There is nothing to do but wait,” and sarcastically consoled him with the thought that “you are in the U.S., anyhow.”³⁰

Manly mentions only one account of local racial violence in the letters which have survived. A white man, “a low fellow,” had stabbed a freedman. “The negroes are all up in arms about it--gathering in excited groups, threatening vengeance, and proposing to burn the town.” The white man was arrested and jailed. That night, fires were set in several white-owned buildings. “I loaded all my shooting irons--to be ready if there was a need: while I did not anticipate any difficulty: but I had determined to shoot, without delay, if there was any violence attempted about my place.” Basil proudly recounted that

²⁷ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 1, 1867, BMSHC.

²⁸ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 1, 1867, BMSHC. For Stevens’ “Confiscation Plan,” see Fawn M. Brodie, *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (New York: Norton, 1959), 165, 226, 232-235.

²⁹ Letter from Basil to Parents, April 1, 1867, BMSHC.

³⁰ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 18, 1867, BMSHC.

he could “deliver 16 shots--2 from my double barreled gun, 6 from my revolver, and 8 from a Spencer Rifle that I have (a Gettysburg trophy by the way).”³¹

A few days later Basil wrote that “the negroes have become quiet--partly perhaps from their imagination that they ‘have scared the white folks enough’--partly from the thought that burning the town would burn up their own nests, and deprive them of the means of livelihood--partly from the strong patrol, which has guarded the town nightly since Sunday. But,” Basil feared, “we are liable to some similar outbreak, whenever any low fellow of either color chooses to provoke or practice violence.” In addition, “the danger will be heightened when we get back the [Furman] University students in a fortnight.” Since “they are like every other body of young men, comparatively heedless and reckless,” Basil feared that they would be “swift to right their own wrongs, especially against a negro.” He noted that “many of the negroes have arms--chiefly old shot guns--tho a number have pistols,” but added that he believed “we should have no further disturbance, and that gradually the negroes will vacate this region of the country,” freeing it from the threat of racial violence.”³²

³¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 15, 1866, SBCHA folder 7. The guns are listed here because there is an interesting discrepancy with official paperwork filed by Manly. On June 7, 1865, he had received written permission “to keep 2 double barrel guns, 1 revolver” from Capt. H. E. Mitchell; “No. 2280”, June 7, 1865, MFC. Perhaps Manly had either misidentified or omitted the more powerful Spencer Rifle for fear that the guns of whites would be confiscated.

³² Undated Scrap, SBCHA folder 8. Although archived separately, this scrap is undoubtedly the second page of Basil’s letter of July 15, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

The incident which sparked this concern coincided with another event, the death of Alice, Basil and Charlotte's tenth child.³³ On July 11, 1866, Basil wrote his brother that Alice was "shrunk away" and would not stop crying; four days later he informed his parents that she showed "little change from day to day but I think is gradually growing weaker."³⁴ Charlotte kept the child on a pillow continually because its "withered" body would be bruised by any hard surface. On July 18, the infant died.

Basil attempted to comfort himself with the (perhaps deluded) belief that the child had grown "too weak . . . to feel much pain." "Another of our little company," he wrote his parents, "has ended its voyage and gained the harbor."³⁵ For several days Basil was in grief, writing several poems to his dead daughter:

Slumber, slumber, little darling!
Free from grief and pain;
Soon our journey will be over.
Soon we'll meet again.³⁶

Alice's death came at a time of increasing stress on the family. Charlotte was becoming increasingly ill--occasionally coughing up blood--³⁷ and the illness of Miss

³³ This was Charlotte's eleventh delivery. The birthdate for Alice has not been found.

³⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 11, 1866, BMSHC; Letter from Basil to Parents, July 15, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

³⁵ Letter from Basil to Parents, July 15, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

³⁶ "Scraps of Rhyme," SSA.

³⁷ At one time coughing up "half a tea cup" of blood. Letter from Basil to Parents, May 24, 1865, MFC. Louise Manly blamed her mother's illness on "the hardships of the war times." Manly, *The Manly Family*, 207-208.

Mary, the children's mammy, made the former slave "entirely too feeble to render me the assistance I need with such a family," Charlotte wrote her parents-in-law.³⁸ Soon after baby Alice died, Charlotte was pregnant again. The pregnancy worsened her already frail health. Writing to her in-laws in February of 1867, she mourned that "I am at times weak a burden to myself and so uncomfortable with my cough that I am unfit for anything-- have neither life nor energy."³⁹ She looked forward to her confinement in May, since being confined had made her last pregnancy easier. "The Doctor," she wrote, "says he thinks it saved my life." So many pregnancies had certainly taken their toll; when William and Abby, Basil's sister, had their second child, Charlotte wrote them, "I think sister is following quite in my footsteps, in that particular, let her beware, or she may soon count her twelfth, as I expect to do."⁴⁰

Another source of stress was their children's education, particularly that of Jo and Basil Rudolph. Basil was "greatly concerned and annoyed in finding that all the teaching I have been paying for years . . . has been next to utterly thrown away." Jo, his step-son, was especially disappointing. "The boy is of tolerable mind, docile and obedient, not more inattentive or stupid than other children," yet he could neither perform basic arithmetic problems such as subtraction nor even "numerate properly." "I am vexed," he wrote his parents, "not so much at him, but at those who have been pretending to teach

³⁸ Letter from Charlotte to Parents, October 7, 1866, SBCHA folder 7.

³⁹ Letter from Charlotte to Parents, February 6, 1867, SBCHA folder 8.

⁴⁰ Letter from Charlotte to William and Abby, February 12, 1867, SBCHA folder 8.

him.” Their “quack teaching” he labeled an “abominable imposition on the public,” although he admitted to not performing “the personal vigilance and instruction of parents.”⁴¹ Charlotte shared his concern. Five years later, Jo had shown little improvement. “Some of the teachers are so inefficient,” she complained, “I fear money is thrown away. . . . Joseph’s progress has been so backward that we are thinking seriously of putting him to some kind of business.”⁴²

The family was also suffering from financial hardship, not only because of the loss of their wealth in human property, but because the seminary was unable to pay the salaries of the professors.⁴³ Basil feared that Boyce, deeply in personal debt, would “have to leave the seminary and resort to some active business to make money, pay his liabilities, and preserve his name and honor untarnished.”⁴⁴ Basil attempted to improve his own financial situation by speculating on land in Texas, but was defrauded with “a total loss of his interest there” when the seller “sold the land again.”⁴⁵ Moreover, Basil,

⁴¹ Letter from Basil to Parents, October 26, 1862, SBCHA folder 4.

⁴² Letter from Charlotte to Parents, February 6, 1867, SBCHA folder 8. Charlotte also complained that “his uncle does not send him a cent of money.”

⁴³ Letter from Charlotte to Parents, September 7, 1866, SBCHA folder 8; Letter from Father to Charles, August 13, 1867, MFC.

⁴⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 18, 1867, BMSHC.

⁴⁵ “Your brother has been most villainously used.” Letter from Basil, Sr., to Charles and Mary, January 10, 1868, SBCHA folder 8. Basil had been traveling in Texas that month, apparently the occasion of making the purchase; Letter from Basil Sr. to Charles and Mary, January 3, 1868, SBCHA folder 8.

Charles, and their father had invested a considerable amount of money in younger brother James' invention of a nail making machine. The machine failed either to produce adequate nails or attract other investors, and the investment was lost completely.⁴⁶

The social changes of reconstruction also brought Charlotte worries which may seem today petty, but which caused her deep concern. For example, a new doctor in Greenville, "a southerner, yankeeized" with a wife "whom they say is a yankee woman," had begun to attend their church. The family had two sons who "will, unavoidably, be thrown with mine, and I feel great anxiety about who they are." While certainly the least of her worries, her nervousness about Northern strangers indicates the worries she must have had about all nine of her children.

In the Spring of 1867, Basil, Sr., and his wife Sarah traveled to Greenville to assist the struggling family.⁴⁷ On May 1, Basil and Charlotte's eleventh child was born, Archibald Thomas. Five weeks later, the child was dead. The symptoms which had accompanied Alice's death were similar to Archibald's. The child "had no constitution," Basil wrote his brother, "and the first blast of sickness shattered the frail bark."⁴⁸ Archibald "suffered much pain" between noon Tuesday and midnight, when it "just lay

⁴⁶ The failure had driven James to "discouraging self-reflection." "Let us try to build him up. He will make a man yet. . . . James has gained honor." Letter from Father to Basil, July 20, 1867, MFC.

⁴⁷ The earliest letter from this visit was from Sarah to Charles and Mary, April 23, 1867, UAL.

⁴⁸ Letter from Basil to Charles, June 7, 1867, BMSHC.

and wore out, weakening and fading, hour by hour, until 5 Wednesday afternoon, when it ceased to breathe.”⁴⁹ Another period of mourning came for the family, and Charlotte became increasingly weaker. “I cannot but feel deeply anxious for dear Sister Charlotte,” Charles wrote Basil. “I know she is very frail and her departure to join the little ones may not be far off.”⁵⁰

Charlotte “sank all at once, when she began to sink,” Basil, Sr., wrote Charles. “She died on the 27th of June. . . . Charlotte was much roused when the near approach of death could no longer be disguised. But she soon acquired composure, and died in a peaceful hope.”⁵¹ She was thirty-five years old.

“I cannot express my feelings” about “the blow which has fallen on me and left me desolate,” Basil wrote his brother. “She is taken from me, who for fifteen years has been nearest to me of all on earth, and I can scarcely yet realize that I am alone.”⁵² “How can I express to you the deep sympathy I feel with you on your great loss which has come

⁴⁹ Letter from Mother to Charles and Mary, June 12, 1867, BMSHC.

⁵⁰ Letter from Charles to Basil, July 8, 1867, UAL. Charles had been traveling and was unaware that Charlotte had died eleven days before.

⁵¹ Letter from Father to Charles, July 15, 1867, MFC. Basil, Sr., asked Charles to make a note of the birth and deaths in the family bible.

⁵² Letter from Basil to Charles, July 3, 1867, BMSHC.

so crushingly upon you!" Charles replied.⁵³ Their father lamented, "What a desolate family!"⁵⁴

Basil's grief was heavy. Walking through the house would "remind me very forcibly of my dear Charlotte handling her keys, and working about the storeroom, etc."⁵⁵ He lamented not having more recent photographs taken of her, and asked Charles, "Have you any pictures of my dear wife, of later date, that is a good one?"⁵⁶ His concern for his "nine little children" led him to ask his parents to return to Greenville and care for them.⁵⁷ They agreed.

Although he clearly loved his son and grandchildren, Basil, Sr., did not take warmly to the challenge of caring for the family. Even before Charlotte's death, Basil, Sr., had complained about the children's behavior, especially the daughters. "Miss Mary had taught Basil's girls to do many things for themselves," he wrote Charles, "but since she left, and their mother's illness--they have given it all up and will not do anything, but expect all things to be prepared ready to their hands." He was surprised that "none of

⁵³ Letter from Charles to Basil, July 10, 1867, UAL.

⁵⁴ Letter from Basil, Sr., to unidentified recipient, undated 1867, UAL.

⁵⁵ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 7, 1867, BMSHC.

⁵⁶ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 7, 1867, BMSHC. Basil seems almost desperate to have access to recent photographs. "He wishes to have several [copies] for his children later." Letter from Mother to Charles, July 22, 1867, MFC. Charles sent photographs to Fuller, in Mobile, and had them copied and forwarded to Basil. Letter from Charles to Basil, July 25, 1867, UAL; Letter from Charles to Basil, August 14, 1867, UAL.

⁵⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 3, 1867, BMSHC.

them seem to like their books. So different from their father. . . . I dislike to say anything to him about his children--but it must be done for this thing must be stopped."⁵⁸

Moreover, Basil, Sr., felt useless in the new arrangement.⁵⁹ "The condition of this large particularly exposed and helpless family makes an appeal to your mother that she cannot turn aside," he wrote Charles. Yet his role was less plain: "If I could be of any separate use as a minister, I might feel that I had a sphere." Nevertheless, "I give up. It is no longer the question, where will Dr. Manly probably go? But where will Mrs. Manly go. The old man will go where the old woman goes."⁶⁰ The advocate of temperance, although no teetotaler, thought "that the use of ale has been beneficial to me, but the excitements inseparable from being here are against me. I am painfully anxious."⁶¹

Certainly Basil, Sr., realized the predicament his son was in. Although "Joe will return to his friends in Marion at the end of the year . . . that will leave 8 of Basil's own children here." Some of the children had special problems: "Lizzie, the eldest, is permanently lame--one leg shorter than the other . . . Mary, the youngest, is now showing signs of incipient hip disease; and I do fear that she, too, will be an invalid." With all his problems, "we must not leave Basil as things are." In addition to the grief of the family,

⁵⁸ Letter from Father to Charles, May 31, 1867, MFC.

⁵⁹ For this stage of Basil, Sr.'s life, see A. James Fuller, "Chaplain to the Confederacy: A Biography of Basil Manly, 1798-1868" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Miami University, 1995), 309-320.

⁶⁰ Letter from Father to Charles, August 13, 1867, MFC.

⁶¹ Undated scrap, 1867, UAL.

the seminary professors were still not receiving their promised salary. The father worried, "how much in debt he is I do not know--I almost fear to inquire." Although Basil had "a zeal for his public duties . . . I think [he] is deficient in attending to his private affairs."⁶²

A week later his attitude toward being a caretaker for the children had changed. "We find such a field of usefulness in this large bereaved family" that they had decided to stay for several months "and see if we can do something for them."⁶³ By the end of the month, the children gave "less trouble than could be supposed. A few examples of firmness and authority have been sufficient to make your mother understood."⁶⁴ "I think she has established herself in the veneration and affection of the children. She will have no trouble, with a look every now and then from me, in governing them."⁶⁵ Despite the fact that Basil's mother was "as busy as she can be" and that Basil, Sr., suffered a minor stroke and (perhaps more irritating) was unable to return to Alabama and "vote against this kangaroo constitution," they clearly came to enjoy their time as caregivers for the

⁶² Letter from Father to Charles, August 13, 1867, MFC. Mary's condition is also discussed in Letter from Father to Charles and Mary, August 31, 1867, SBCHA folder 8: "The little child Mary is still unable to walk--but she complains of pain much less frequently than before." On Joseph Smith's return to Alabama, see Manly, The Manly Family, 208.

⁶³ Letter from Father to Charles, August 22, 1867, SBCHA folder 8.

⁶⁴ Letter from Father to Charles, August 31, 1867, SBCHA folder 8. The good behavior of the children continued: "We have less trouble and difficulty of discipline in this family than we expected." Letter from Father to Charles and Mary, November 2, 1867, UAL.

⁶⁵ Letter from Father to Charles, September 7, 1867, SBCHA folder 8.

children.⁶⁶ Although Basil, Sr., would die the next year, Sarah continued to live with the family until Basil's remarriage. As Basil's daughter Louisa remembered this time, "Their sweet and lovely influence on these children was very great--they can recall many delightful kindnesses and interesting sayings of their beloved grandparents."⁶⁷

The older couple, however, were less satisfied with the way Basil dealt with the children. "Basil is seldom in the house," his father wrote, "and notices but little when he is there."⁶⁸ Whether from the real demands of his work, or from the grief-wrenching reminders within the house, "Basil is often away. . . . so that practically we have had to take entire control and to make our authority absolute and final. . . . If we had not done it, just as if everything was ours, the children would have gone rapidly to ruin."⁶⁹

Basil wrote few letters during the six months after his wife died; those which survive understandably reveal the melancholic mourning he endured. "I don't satisfy myself in any of my exercises," he wrote, although he considered himself "faint but

⁶⁶ Letter from Father to Charles, September 25, 1867, SBCHA folder 8. "I had a sort of collapse yesterday and the day before--my right arm and leg were stiff and weak." Letter from Father to Children [Charles and Mary?], August 22, 1867, SBCHA folder 8; "My hand is very stiff and heavy today." Letter from Father to Charles, September 1, 1867, SBCHA folder 8. Letter from Father to Charles and Mary, January 3, 1868, SBCHA folder 8.

⁶⁷ Manly, *The Manly Family*, 127.

⁶⁸ Letter from Father to Charles, September 7, 1867, SBCHA folder 8.

⁶⁹ Letter from Father to Charles and Mary, November 2, 1867, UAL

pursuing" his work.⁷⁰ As he recovered from both his grief and his melancholy, his interest turned once more to politics.

His account of the state Democratic convention, to which Basil may have been a delegate, reveals his political position in the early years of Reconstruction. As to the state at large," he wrote his brother, "that, I fear, is hopelessly Radical." More locally, however, "We could elect a good white ticket in this district but I don't believe they will organize enough to carry it."⁷¹ As the seminary faced increasing financial struggles, Manly considered migrating elsewhere. "More than ever before in my life, I feel that the movements which are deciding my future are above my reach or control. And it is only consoling to remember that they are not above our Father's."⁷²

The seminary continued to struggle in the years after the war. "Impecuniosity is the trouble," Basil told his brother early in 1868. Until "the country is restored to anything like vitality, not to say prosperity," the seminary simply could not receive the funding it needed to operate.⁷³ The Reconstruction government of the state, Basil feared, could not bring "a revival of prosperity and confidence among our people."⁷⁴ Basil had

⁷⁰ Letter from Basil to Charles, February 5, 1868, BMSHC;

⁷¹ Letter from Basil to Charles, March 30, 1868, BMSHC. At the convention, Boyce was nominated for the position of state senator, but declined.

⁷² Letter from Basil to Charles, April 15, 1868, BMSHC.

⁷³ Letter from Basil to Charles, February 5, 1868, BMSHC.

⁷⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 15, 1868, BMSHC.

made several trips, some as far as Missouri, to raise funds for the students.⁷⁵ Basil complained that printed circulars could not bring in the much-needed money; only “personal appeals” could raise the funds.⁷⁶ As a last resort, Basil appealed to Northern Baptists for funding; at first resistant, when the funds began to appear from Northern contributors Basil realized that, however distasteful the activity, the North was the only real source of available wealth for the seminary.⁷⁷ Eventually, Northern contributions would be solicited for the payment of professors’ salaries--certainly an humiliation.⁷⁸

Throughout the year, political conditions in South Carolina weighed on Basil’s mind. “If revolution is to come in fact with violence or flame--or if the state is to be thoroughly negroized, it may be necessary to close the Seminary or move it,” perhaps, Basil suggested to his brother, to Baltimore. Thinking about this prospect reveals his moderate political sentiment. “I am not so hopeless of the South as some of my brethren seem to be--even if the Radical Constitutions succeed--as they will. But I should be better satisfied to live and raise my children in a ‘white man’s country’; and if a fair

⁷⁵ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 19, 1868, BMSHC.

⁷⁶ Letter from Basil to Charles, September 29, 1869, BMSHC. Several of these circulars appear in the archives, often with sermon notes on the back; for an example, see Student Fund Circular, July 1, 1869, BMSHC.

⁷⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, September 29, 1869, BMSHC.

⁷⁸ Sampey, *First Thirty Years*, 15.

chance of support is offered me, in such a region, I feel as if I should not be wrong in accepting it.”⁷⁹

Throughout 1868, Basil Manly, Sr.’s, health continued to fail. A stroke in 1864 and the effects of aging had forced “an uneasy retirement,” and his initial feeling of uselessness with the children may well have reflected his general sense that his active life had ended.⁸⁰ At least once he told Basil that “he did not know what controversy God has with him, that had caused him thus to be laid aside.”⁸¹ Over the last year of his life, though, the elder Basil’s struggles with perceived failure, so common to his sons, seemed “resolved by faith,” and his dying words on December 21, 1868, to Basil, Jr., were, “I have not found that life is a failure. Taking up Jesus as the aim of life, there is sufficient to support a man; and life is a reality indeed, and not a failure.”⁸²

Although Basil certainly mourned the passing of his father, he had endured so much grief over the past year that this final blow seemed diminished in force. His grief for his father would return in waves through the years, but did not seem to have left him as desolate as his earlier suffering.

With his emergence from his grief-stricken cocoon, Basil began courting again. On June 10, 1869, he married Miss Hattie Summers Hair, a young woman of twenty-four,

⁷⁹ Letter from Basil to Charles, April 15, 1868, BMSHC.

⁸⁰ Fuller, 309-310.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁸² The phrase “resolved by faith” is Fuller’s. Fuller, 310, 317.

twenty years his junior. He had met Hattie at the Clear Springs church he pastored. The daughter of a wealthy planter turned railroad contractor during the war, she had attended the Moravian School in Salem, North Carolina, and a French finishing school in Charleston.⁸³ Her social class and musical talent made her a good match for Basil.

"This morning about 9:30 the knot was duly tied," Basil reported to his brothers' families. "We had no attendants--but rode to the Church where the friends were gathered, walked up the aisle together, and stood till the ceremony was over."⁸⁴ John Broadus performed the ceremony.⁸⁵ The light sprinkle of rain "kept away the stragglers and idle gaping crowd" but "did not prevent the friends who were truly interested from coming." His reception bemused him, and his buoyancy is evident in his flippant report from the preparations. "The ladies are dressing and trying to beautify themselves--I (who am above or below that necessity) will scribble a line or two." Basil wrote that "a full calm tide has been flooding through my soul, during the day--with no ripple, even of ecstasy, no murmur even of descending rapids, but a sweet and solid content." "I need not say," he added, "that I am happy."⁸⁶

⁸³ Manly, The Manly Family, 211.

⁸⁴ Letter from Basil to Charles, Mary, Fuller, and Lizzie, June 10, 1869, BMSHC

⁸⁵ Journal, 1869, June 10, 1869, BMF.

⁸⁶ He wrote bemusedly, "As for the reception itself, I'm but a passenger--not much consulted, nor responsible for the programme." Letter from Basil to Charles, Mary, Fuller, and Lizzie, June 10, 1869, BMSHC. For once, his diary began to record wasted time without a sense of guilt: "Nearly two weeks have passed since my marriage--weeks of calm serenity and pacific happiness. I have not done much." Journal 1869, June 24, 1869, BMF.

If his family circumstances became happier during the late 1860s, his political outlook did not. Basil became increasingly uncomfortable with the political changes in his state, and a visit to the South Carolina Capital Building in the fall of 1870 sealed his impression that the state was being ruined by Reconstruction policies. The entrance halls were "thronged with Negroes" involved in, as Basil saw it, "a sort of saturnalia, haw-hawing, buying and selling peanuts, candy and gingers," impromptu wrestling matches, and prankish coat-tail pulling.

The "uproar" from the hall made it difficult for Basil to hear the speeches from the floor of the chamber. What he heard shocked him. In a response to "alleged outrages in Laurens and threats in Edgefield against the radical members," one "nameless darkey" made a "zealous tirade" against whites, even calling for the execution of the white "rioters." With uncharacteristic bitterness, Basil noted that the building had been beautifully furnished in carpet and chandeliers--"as gorgeous as Cuffee usually delights in--when somebody else pays for it."⁸⁷ Basil no longer felt as if the state belonged to him, or he to the state. He would soon leave the Deep South.

⁸⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, November 28, 1870, BMSHC.

CHAPTER 9
“PROGRESS, USEFULNESS, AND HONOR FOR GEORGETOWN COLLEGE”

By 1870, both Basil and Charles had grown dissatisfied with Reconstruction politics and their own professional lives. “I am working very hard--and yet seem to be living to little apprise,” Charles wrote his older brother from Tuscaloosa, where he was pastor of the First Baptist Church and President of the Alabama Central Female College.¹ Almost simultaneously, prestigious job offers were made to both brothers. Basil was offered his father’s old position, the Presidency of the University of Alabama.² Charles was offered the Presidency of Union University, a Baptist school in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, a position he accepted after several months of thought.³ Basil rejected the offer from Alabama; as his daughter Louise later phrased it, “politics had a great influence in the management of the school; and at that time politics in the South was a fearsome thing.”⁴

¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, January 19, 1870, MFC.

² Letter from Charles to Basil, March 16, 1871, MFC.

³ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 20, 1871, MFC; Letter from Charles to Basil, August 29, 1871, MFC.

⁴ Louise Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p. 1930), 215.

In the Summer of 1871, Basil received a much more promising offer--the presidency of Georgetown College in Georgetown, Kentucky. He could move closer to his brother in the Upper South and farther away from Reconstruction. The salary of \$2500, in addition to a "neat and comfortable family residence," seemed an improvement on his financial relationship with the seminary.⁵ Basil soon devoted the time to "balancing the arguments" for and against leaving the seminary for Georgetown.

Far more appeared on the side of the memorandum marked "Pro" than on the side marked "Con." Basil divided the advantages of Georgetown into two categories. Under "As to Self," he noted that the Georgetown position offered "better income, more secur[ity], more profit." Second on the list were his children--"opportunities for educating children under own supervision." In contrast to Basil's views of the political developments in South Carolina, Kentucky offered a "permanent home in white man's country" which was "plentiful, cheap, and pleasant." Finally, he concluded that "Removal is only a matter of time--must go sometime if not now."

"As to usefulness" in the offered position, Manly consoled himself that in leaving the seminary he would still be involved in educating scholars, and would have a role in specifically ministerial education as well. He would also have an important role in "build[ing] up colleges for the Central West." He reasoned that it would be "more difficult to fill my place as President if I decline than to supply vacancy in Seminary." He also admired the role of leadership the Georgetown position would offer--the "President

⁵ Letter from S. F. Gano to Basil, July 1, 1871, BMSHC.

is the man of 7 or 8" faculty members, whereas at the seminary he was but "one out of 5." As to his loyalty to the seminary, should the seminary move to Kentucky, he could "greatly aid the Seminary" in raising funds for the transition.

Against the move he noted that in Greenville he was well-settled and owned property. Both he and his wife had family nearby. In the seminary, he had found "mutual affection and confidence" among the faculty, and desired to "keep its corps unbroken." More importantly, "I prefer the Seminary work and know I can do it."⁶

On August 26, 1871, Manly, "after painful and anxious deliberations," resigned from the seminary, requesting an exception to the contractual four-months notice.⁷ The exception was made, and Basil addressed the faculty and students. "I fear I should betray some emotion that would be thought unmanly," Basil opened with a pun. But he moved quickly and defensively to make it clear that he was not being asked to leave. "You may ask any of these men," he gestured to the faculty, "if it is because of any dimness of their confidence in me." He closed with some remarks on the city of Greenville, lauding its "brighter prospects" and, rather disingenuously, the "hopeful condition of politics" in the state.⁸

⁶ "Memorandum," undated, 1871, MFC.

⁷ Rough Draft of Letter from Basil to Rev. James P. Boyce, Chairman of the Faculty, Executive Committee, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, August 26, 1871, MFC.

⁸ "Substance of Remarks in reference to leaving Seminary," MFC.

By returning to the more general higher education of young people, Basil went back to a field which he loved and to which he had given much thought. His commencement address at Wake Forest College, given in 1854, is the fullest account of his concern for college education. Although written much earlier than his move to Georgetown, it contains an outline of his belief in the importance of higher education.⁹

Manly lamented the fact that Southern colleges, “by being elevated above the grade of common schools, are too often removed from the common sympathies of the people.”¹⁰ His speech was an attempt to promote a more common appreciation of their importance.

Basil defined education as “discipline, development, the drawing out (literally) of the various faculties.” It involved both “physical, intellectual, and moral education,” developing one “who has learned, no matter how, to use his own mind well and advantageously.” Although it was possible to become educated without going to college, Basil argued that colleges made a good education able to be “obtained easier, sooner, better” than self-study. While Basil agreed with his imagined critics that colleges had sometimes produced “learned dunces,” and many “unlearned dunces, who go to college simpletons and come away unaltered,” he noted in analogy that cotton cloth could be

⁹ Basil Manly, Jr., “A Plea for Colleges . . . Delivered by Request of The North Carolina Baptist Educational Society, at Wake Forest College, June 7, 1854,” in Commencement Exercises at Wake Forest College, June 7, 1854 (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1854), SBHLA.

¹⁰ Ibid., 42.

produced with out “complex and expensive machinery,” and that “some of the factory cloth is worthless;” yet few would question the “utility and importance of factories.” Likewise, colleges, for all their imperfections, were “the ordinary and appropriate agencies for high mental culture.”¹¹ Moreover, they produced not only educated men, but financial, civil, and religious benefits to society.

The “pecuniary benefits” of college education worked on two levels. The individual college graduate benefited in his lifetime income by at least \$10,000; Basil argued that an investment of \$1,000 in a college degree was a wise financial investment for parents to make. Moreover, it was a permanent investment which could not be taken away, “beyond human power to defraud”; it could not “be burned like a house, nor be enticed away like our slaves, nor be stolen like money, nor become depreciated in value like bank or railroad stock, nor can the title become dubious like that of landlord estate.” even if a man with an education “were shipwrecked, he could swim to shore” without losing it. And such an investment benefited not only the individual, but society; such a financial reward to the educated man would be a benefit to “the material prosperity of that region” in which he lived.

“Other interests higher than dollars and cents,” however, would benefit from the growth of colleges. The “civil benefits” of a more largely educated population were legion. Citing a study of New York criminals, Basil showed that crime was highest among uneducated people. More importantly, “despotism may flourish” in an uneducated

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

society; “there is no security for a republic except in the intelligence and virtue of the people.” “Under the tropical warmth of Republicanism,” Basil wrote, the “ignorance of the masses” threatened to grow like “rank weeds.” Education was the only preventative.¹²

In apocalyptic terms, Basil applied his ideas to the United States in particular. “This new world,” he wrote, “is the theatre on which are to transpire some of the most momentous events in earth’s future history. The Eastern hemisphere witnessed the birth of man and his fall, the advent of the Lord from heaven, his humiliation and exaltation.” Did it not make sense to believe that “the Western may be reserved for the battlefield of the final conflict between truth and error, holiness and sin[?] Are we preparing for it?”¹³

Finally, colleges offered a religious benefit to society—or rather, they could and ought to. Manly argued that either “a decidedly religious influence, or a decidedly irreligious influence must pervade education. It is impossible that it should be neutral.” By sponsoring denominational colleges, Southerners could insure that the future leaders of the region would have been grounded in “pure, unadulterated religious truth.”¹⁴ Georgetown College was just such a denominational college.

When Basil accepted the Presidency of Georgetown, he accepted responsibility for more than just the education of the young men in the college. Georgetown was home to

¹² *Ibid.*, 52-55.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

four schools, controlled by legally separate, but in practice nearly identical, trustees, with Basil responsible in varying measures for them all.

Georgetown College proper was a Baptist school for young men. When Manly arrived to take the helm, the college had four faculty members and enrolled 98 students.¹⁵ In addition, the college also operated a "college academy," or preparatory school, on the college campus for boys between ten and fifteen years of age.¹⁶ With a separate principal but with much the same faculty and the same board of trustees, the college and the academy were closely linked. Since Georgetown did not have a public school until 1890, any local young men whose parents desired their education had little choice but to attend the academy.¹⁷

The Georgetown Female Seminary was founded in 1868, three years after a previous women's school was destroyed by fire. Professor James Jefferson Rucker, Professor of Mathematics at Georgetown College, was the founder and first Principal of the Female Seminary. For the first year, Rucker operated the school as his own business; but in 1869, he transferred control of the school to a Board of Trustees--by no

¹⁵ Historical Catalogue, of the Georgetown College, 1829-1917 (Georgetown: Georgetown News Press, 1917); O. R. Corey, "Historical Chronology: General College History, 1775-1954." unpublished manuscript, 1954, Georgetown College Archives, hereinafter abbreviated GCA, 1870.

¹⁶ Robert Snyder, A History of Georgetown College. (n.p., 1978), 51.

¹⁷ Ibid., 51-52.

coincidence, composed of the same men as the Board of Trustees for the College.¹⁸

Rucker offered instruction for young women which at times was labeled as being on the college level, and was instrumental in bringing the Female Seminary into the College in 1885, making it a co-educational college.¹⁹

The Western Baptist Theological Seminary, which had opened in Covington, Kentucky, in 1845, had had a troubled history. Drawing its leadership from both the North and the South in the very year that Baptists split along regional lines, it was weakened from the beginning, when the President refused to state his position on the abolition of slavery and local Kentuckians withdrew their support.²⁰ Drawing most of its few students from the North, the seminary limped along until 1852, when Duncan R. Campbell, the last President, left to teach at Georgetown. After a convoluted legal process, the property of the school was sold, and \$25,000 followed Campbell to Georgetown, where as President of Georgetown College, he reopened the seminary under the old name, although seminary courses were taught in the same buildings and by many of the same professors as the courses of Georgetown.²¹

¹⁸ "James Jefferson Rucker," in William Henry Perrin, ed., History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison, and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky (Chicago: O. L. Baskin, 1882), 610.

¹⁹ Snyder, 54; Corey, 1884. Women began attending classes with male students in 1884. Snyder, 57.

²⁰ Snyder, 35.

²¹ Ibid., 35-36.

The arrangement of so many legally separate institutions under one umbrella must have been a major factor in influencing Manly to accept the Presidency. His interests in higher education for both men and women, and his involvement in seminary education, were both represented under his leadership.²² By offering such a wide field of study in separate schools, Georgetown functioned in practice, if not in name, as a Southern Baptist university--perhaps, because it offered graduate education in the seminary, ranking higher than the few Baptist schools which claimed that name.

Basil was thrown into the active role of the Presidency almost as soon as he descended from the train carrying him.²³ With little time between his resignation from the seminary and the start of the academic year in Georgetown, he had been unable to do much planning for the new term. The students, however, were waiting for him; or rather, had preceded him to the stable of his new home and written "an anonymous sentence" on the stable door. The gentleman scholar was appalled; his brother warned, with real concern, that his own experience at Union University was that they might next try to paint his horses and shave their manes.²⁴

When Basil arrived in Georgetown, he found a faculty of four--two New Englanders, a Southerner, and an Irishman. Jonathan Everett Farnum and Danford

²² *Ibid.*, 48.

²³ Basil arrived by train with his younger children; the older children arrived separately after a carriage ride with their Hattie's father from Greenville to Georgetown, a voyage they remembered as unusual for children at the time. Manly, *The Manly Family*, 215.

²⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, October 20, 1871, MFC.

Thomas were the remaining pair of the trio of young college friends from Waterville College, Maine, (later Colby College) who had come south together to take control of the college in the 1830s.²⁵ Farnum taught the Natural Sciences; Thomas taught Latin and Greek.²⁶ James Jefferson Rucker of Missouri had graduated from Georgetown College in 1854 and kept school for a year in the countryside before being appointed Principal of the Academy. A few months later, however, when a vacancy occurred on the college faculty, he was temporarily given the chair of Mathematics, which he was awarded permanently in 1856.²⁷ Henry McDonald, youngest of the professors, had been educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland by his devout parents; not wishing to be a priest, he ran away to America, where he studied law in Kentucky. Being converted and baptized, he joined the Baptist church in Greensburg and was ordained two years later. Having taught at Western Baptist Seminary when it had been at Covington, he was appointed Professor of Theology at Georgetown in 1870--the first new faculty member in 15 years, the oldest of whom had been there since 1838 and the second oldest since 1839.²⁸

²⁵ The other was Rockwood Giddings, who served as President. Carl R. Fields, A Sesquicentennial History of Georgetown College (Georgetown: Georgetown College Press, 1979), 42.

²⁶ Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1871-72, GCA.

²⁷ "Henry McDonsals," in Perrin, 620.

²⁸ "Henry McDonald, D.D.," in J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists, From 1769 to 1885 (1886: Lafayette, TN: Church History Archives, 1976), 41-42. McDonald also served as Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology at Western Baptist Theological Seminary, which met on the campus of Georgetown College. Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1873-74, GCA.

In his first semester, Manly taught two courses, each with their own difficulties. In *Christian Evidences*, Basil for the first time found himself teaching the material to students who included some unreceptive hearers. "We have several promising men inclined to infidelity," Basil wrote his brother. He determined to be kind and fair to them, but worried that "it is a difficult problem to know just how far to go, in discussion, in such a class." He feared that if he pressed his case too forcefully, he would alienate those who might eventually come to an acceptance of Christianity. In *Logic*, he faced a different problem--an unfamiliarity with the material. Much as his approach to teaching Hebrew in the early years of the seminary had been, "in class I manage to talk about the things I know and let the rest alone mostly."²⁹ After the first year as chair of Moral Science and Mental Philosophy, he took the chair of English Literature, with which he felt more comfortable.³⁰

In Manly's first year at Georgetown, he introduced radical changes to the College. Certainly the most important was a complete revision of the curriculum, changes which Basil outlined in his first commencement address at the end of that year, published as an eighteen-page booklet, "Reform in Collegiate Education."³¹

²⁹ He admitted to Charles that he had difficulties understanding "Hamilton," the *Logic* textbook, "but I catch a glimmer." Letter from Basil to Charles, December 18, 1871, BMSHC.

³⁰ Historical Catalogue, 1917, GCA. Manly also served as Professor of Biblical Interpretation in the Western Baptist Theological Seminary. Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1873-74, GCA.

³¹ Basil Manly, Jr., "Reform in Collegiate Education." Address, Commencement Day, June 13, 1872 (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1872).

The argument of Manly's reform ideas was informed by his deep belief in inevitable progress. "Everything that lives grows" was the opening sentence of the address, and "progress is the watchword," he proclaimed; "to stand still is to retrograde." Yet he assured his audience that by calling for progress, he was not turning his back on the past. "The most successful progressive is the conservative . . . who stands on the shoulders of the past so as to survey and benefit the future."³²

Before outlining the changes he had won from the faculty and trustees, he took time to thank the two oldest professors; so long as they continued to teach, "sound conservatism will not be forgotten." Then Basil turned to laying out the "new career of successful progress" which he proposed, promising his listeners that with these changes, Georgetown would be "in fact advanced approximately to the position of a true university, while it modestly abstains from coveting the name."³³

Basil began by ridiculing the "ordinary college curriculum" which was "scarcely changed from the form in which it was handed down from the middle ages"--"one scheme for all, and for all in the same time." Basil noted that the enlargement of the "sphere of knowledge . . . during these marvelously progressive years since the Reformation" had added "new sciences with their wonderful discoveries" to the old study of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, but there simply was not time in four years to master

³² *Ibid.*, 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

the old studies as well as an understanding of the ways in which, for example, “men are analyzing into their component elements the sun and stars at the distance of millions of miles.”³⁴ Some subjects must be selected, others discarded. “Who shall select?” asked Basil. His answer: “allow everybody a free selection, [and] open the door for the prosecution of all.” In other words, Basil called for jettisoning the classical system in favor of the newer elective system--what Basil termed the “free system.”

Basil provided several arguments for the new model. First, it would appeal to more students than those who merely wished to enter the professions--“we do not want a nation made up of doctors and lawyers and preachers,” but of well-educated citizens in a variety of fields. “The farmer, the intelligent and thoughtful mechanic, the manager of a mine or a manufactory” could all benefit from the “refining, quickening, elevating influence of education.” Second, Basil argued from the economic principle of supply and demand. “Business principles” showed that enterprises which gave the customers what they desired flourished; the same was true of colleges. Third, “the free system suits differences of capacity and of preparation;” students who desired a more difficult program could have access to one, while those “earnest men struggling up through difficulties” would feel no “stigma” for taking a less demanding program. Fourth, the free system put the control of a student’s education in his own hands; he could explore several fields of study which he may not have chosen at the beginning, allowing himself to develop in his own way. Fifth, if students choose their own courses, they would be

³⁴ Ibid., 5-6.

more likely to approach them with “cheerfulness and energy” and benefit more than if they viewed them as required drudgery. Sixth, “the professors receive greater stimulus and opportunity for making advances” through their own study, if they know they will be teaching only those students who are interested in their courses. The professor would feel “more interest and obligation” in preparing for class, rather than going “over the same round of books.” Seventh, discarding the classical model would allow new courses to be offered; and eighth, the free system had been successful wherever attempted.³⁵

Manly proposed the addition of several new courses to the elective curriculum. “The study of English grammar, commonly made a botch of in our schools, is usually entirely ignored in our colleges” and would be emphasized over Latin grammar in the new model. Besides English, Basil proposed the addition of courses in French and German, one year’s study of which, he argued, would be more rewarding than two years of Greek and Latin in learning all that had been written in the “swift-moving centuries” since the classical period. He promised not to ignore the dead languages, however, and proposed adding Hebrew as an elective course for Biblical study. Besides languages, Manly also called for the creation of a chair of History, “including social science, international law, and the like.”³⁶

³⁵ Ibid., 6-12.

³⁶ Ibid., 10-11. In 1875, courses in civil engineering and in astronomy were added as well. Corey, 1875.

Basil pointed out a number of schools run on the free system model, such as the University of Virginia (begun by Thomas Jefferson on such a plan), Brown University (where Francis Wayland had introduced it in 1827), and most of the state universities in the South, most notably Kentucky University, Georgetown's chief competition.³⁷ Manly concluded with a strong reminder of the effects of the war on the South. "If our last collegiate decade has been marked by war, and losses, and anguish, and confusion, the next decade, by the blessing of God, shall be one of progress, usefulness, and honor for Georgetown College."³⁸

In practice, the curriculum reform brought a radical change to the degree structure of Georgetown College. Students received a certificate for each department in which they completed a series of courses. Those completing courses in English and belle lettres, mathematics and mechanics, physical sciences, and history and social sciences received the Bachelor of Science degree; those who took the courses in all the languages (English, French, German, Latin, and Greek), mathematics, physical sciences, and mental and moral philosophy received a Bachelor of Arts degree. Those who completed all the courses in all the departments and passed an examination over them could take the Master of Arts degree; in practice, this meant that one holding a B.A. from Georgetown had only

³⁷ "Reform," 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

to take the courses in history and social sciences and pass the examination to receive the advanced degree.³⁹

To handle the increased number of courses, Manly recruited new faculty members. Richard M. Dudley, a graduate of Georgetown College in 1860 and former editor of the Kentucky Baptist paper Western Recorder, became Professor of History and Social Sciences. His position of respect among Kentucky Baptists must have influenced Basil's decision to hire him.⁴⁰ The choice of John Nicholas Bradley, the new Professor of Latin, is more of a puzzle, since he took the place of Danford Thomas, who remained on the faculty as professor of Greek.⁴¹ Perhaps Basil needed another young voice on the faculty; Manly, McDonald, Bradley, and Dudley could over-rule Farnam, Thomas, and Rucker.

Both Charles and Basil were unsatisfied with their positions by the second year.⁴² Charles complained that Union was merely a "one-horse college called University;" concurrently, he was teaching Logic, both levels of Latin, French, Geology, Natural

³⁹ Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1872-73. GCA.

⁴⁰ Historical Catalogue, 1917, GCA; Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1872-73, GCA; Spencer, 41-42.

⁴¹ Historical Catalogue, 1917, GCA; Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1872-73, GCA.

⁴² Basil had also been seriously ill; in the winter of 1871-72, Basil contracted pneumonia one more time, forcing him from his work to his bed. The rumors began back in Greenville that he was dying. Crawford H. Toy, who succeeded Manly as secretary of the faculty, wrote a letter thanking God that "you have been spared for the College, the South, and for us." Letter from Crawford H. Toy to Basil, February 27, 1872, BMSHC.

Philosophy, Hebrew, and Rhetoric.⁴³ Basil, who had few complaints about his faculty, was more concerned with the financial troubles caused by the addition of new faculty members and by a declining endowment. The stated endowment of the College in 1869 had been \$155,065.81; in the next year, the public figure had inexplicably dropped to \$124,597.94.⁴⁴ By 1875, the accounting showed \$96,000 in the endowment.⁴⁵

Once again, Basil began looking for a new position elsewhere. When the presidency of the University of Alabama was again offered to him, he was eager to accept it; Charles, however, reminded him of the political nature of leading a state university in the reconstructed South. Instead, Charles suggested that Basil accept the position of English Literature at the University of Mississippi.⁴⁶ A year later, the Alabama presidency was again offered to Basil; this time, he quickly rejected it, not wanting to “go down into the lion pit” of reconstruction Alabama.⁴⁷ Still, though, he envied the position

⁴³ Letter from Charles to Basil, August 26, 1872, MFC.

⁴⁴ Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1869-70, GCA; Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1870-71, GCA. Basil may well have had access to only the 1869 figure when he made his decision to accept the presidency; in that case, he would have been even more concerned about the endowment after his arrival. The academic catalog ceased printing the endowment figure after he became president.

⁴⁵ Corey, 1875. “In 1875 the total endowment was \$115,000; of this sum, \$19,000 had been lost in the financial difficulties of the Civil War.” Pages from Georgetown’s Past, Present . . . Glimpses into the Future (Georgetown: Georgetown College Press, n.d. [1950s]), 18.

⁴⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, December 4, 1872, MFC.

⁴⁷ Letter from Basil to Charles, January 15, 1873, BMSHC. Basil was also elected President of the Richmond Female Institute in August, 1873, but showed no desire to return to his old position. Letter from John Thomas to Basil, August 6, 1873, BMSHC.

of the state universities in the new governments; "I wish I had their money, and the choosing of my own faculty. Wouldn't I make the old machine go!"⁴⁸

Several plans to increase the endowment failed, or succeeded too slowly to aid Manly's administration. Rucker, an alumnus as well as a professor, organized a "Student Association," actually an Alumni organization, to raise funds in 1875; by 1885, it had raised only \$15,000.⁴⁹ By 1875, the financial situation was bleak. From the year before Manly became President, enrollment in the college had dropped 15%; enrollment in the academy had fallen by roughly 70%.⁵⁰ Even with the investment return on the endowment, the College income was only about \$7000 a year.⁵¹ A long-standing tradition that students preparing for the ministry or the teaching profession paid no tuition was costing the school dearly; Professor Farnum reported that the number of students who were not asked to pay tuition made up one-third of the college enrollment. He added that Georgetown seemed destined to "fall into a state of helpless inefficiency and merited neglect."⁵² A change in the policy was made so that "normal students," those preparing

⁴⁸ Basil refers specifically to the University of Alabama. Letter from Basil to Charles, July 9, 1873, BMSHC.

⁴⁹ Corey, 1875; Snyder gives a figure of \$12,500 raised in the first year, which was invested in real estate, Snyder, 55; but such an investment would not have aided the college for some time.

⁵⁰ Figures provided in Corey, 1870, 1875; in 1870, the total students were 145, with 98 in the college; in 1875, the total students were 107, with 84 in the college.

⁵¹ Pages, 18.

⁵² Professor J. E. Farnum, "Financial Report," 1875, GCA.

to teach, would receive their tuition on credit, to be repaid in “say three years.”⁵³

However effective collecting those student loans would be, the policy would not begin to bring in money until the end of Manly’s administration.⁵⁴

In January, 1873, Basil was offered the pastorate of the Baptist Church at Great Crossings, a town near Georgetown. There had been an historic relationship between the church and the college; at least two previous Presidents at Georgetown had served concurrently as Pastor of Great Crossings.⁵⁵ The burden of this pastorate would be much lighter than his earlier experiences; he was asked to provide two sermons a month, and to arrange for students from Georgetown College to supply the pulpit in his absence, in exchange for \$250 a year.⁵⁶ A month later the church clerk noted that Basil was “not

⁵³ Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1875-76, GCA.

⁵⁴ Charles commiserated with Basil’s problems, expressing concern for the financial difficulties at Georgetown which made Basil’s “connection there uncertain.” Charles suggested that Basil make inquiries at Johns Hopkins University, where one professor had recently been hired on an incredible salary of \$5000 a year. Letter from Charles to Basil, January 13, 1876, MFC.

⁵⁵ Howard Malcolm held both offices in the 1840s, Duncan R. Campbell for twelve years ending in 1865. J. N. Bradley, History of the Great Crossings Baptist Church, part one, 1785-1876 (Georgetown: Great Crossings Baptist Church, 1945,) 34, 36. Bradley was a professor at Georgetown (hired by Basil) and a member of Great Crossings while Manly was both President and Pastor.

⁵⁶ Letter from Basil to Charles, January 15, 1873, BMSHC; Minutes, Great Crossing Baptist Church, Scott County, Kentucky, January 10, 1873, SSA.

deciding positively on acceptance,” but in the March recorded that “Dr. Manly accepted until such times as he may see it inconsistent with his other duties.”⁵⁷

Great Crossings, which Basil called a “small but venerable body,” was a church in Manly’s own Charleston theological tradition, having adopted the Philadelphia Confession in 1785.⁵⁸ It was also a church in racial transition; of 29 black male members after the war, only 7 remained when Basil took the pastorate.⁵⁹ And it seems to have been a church whose members were in increasing financial straits. It is not certain that the church honored its salary obligations to Basil in any year; the Treasurer’s report for 1873, 1874, and 1876 showed that roughly half of the salary had not been collected.⁶⁰ Perhaps Basil felt slighted by the unwillingness to pay him; he certainly felt ineffective there. “I am supplying a little church here--the Crossings,” he wrote his brother, “but somehow I don’t seem to have much heart or hope about it.”⁶¹ Basil resigned in January of 1877, but

⁵⁷ Minutes, Great Crossing Baptist Church, Scott County, Kentucky, February, March, 1873, SSA.

⁵⁸ Letter from Basil to Charles, January 15, 1873, BMSHC; Church Book, Great Crossings Baptist Church, SSA.

⁵⁹ Church Book, Great Crossings Baptist Church, SSA. Records of black female members were kept, but have not survived. Some notes of transfer of black female members identify them as “formerly the property of” named slave owners. Church Book, Minutes, SSA.

⁶⁰ The church attempted many innovative plans to raise the funds for the salary, but none succeeded. Minutes, Great Crossings, Treasurer’s report, 1873; Treasurer’s Report, 1874; February 5, 1876, SSA.

⁶¹ It is noteworthy that Basil considered himself supplying, not pastoring, the church, although he had become the legal pastor eight months earlier. Letter from Basil to Charles, November 4, 1873, BMSHC.

the church unanimously refused to accept his resignation; he insisted on resigning, however, and the church conceded in a meeting the next month.⁶²

During 1874 and 1875, Basil became deeply involved in the Grange movement in Kentucky. The church at Great Crossings made its building available for Grange meetings during Basil's pastorate there, and Basil served as chaplain to the Georgetown Grangers. In 1875 Basil became even more active, serving as President of the Kentucky Granger's Mutual Benefit Society.⁶³ This benevolent organization sought to provide the services of a life insurance company, but more inexpensively; members paid a small registration fee and pledged to send a small amount to the society when any member died. The proceeds would be distributed to the bereaved family.⁶⁴ "Farmer's are a slow people to move," Basil wrote his brother, "but are pretty sure and solid, when once started." He seemed confident that the benefit society would be a success; "it seems to me the thing ought to and will work well."⁶⁵

The Manly family in Georgetown found its own share of bereaved heartbreak as new children were born to Basil and Hattie. On December 30, 1871, shortly after the

⁶² Ellis M. Ham, *History of the Great Crossings Baptist Church, Part Two*, 50; *Minutes*, Great Crossings, January 1877, February 1877, SSA.

⁶³ *Minutes*, Great Crossings, January 1874, January 1875, SSA; Louise Manly, *The Manly Family*, 216; *Printed Circular*, February 1, 1875, BMSHC.

⁶⁴ Manly estimated that the requested sum for each member's death would be just over one dollar from each living member. *Printed Circular*, February 1, 1875, BMSHC.

⁶⁵ Letter from Basil to Charles, February 10, 1875, BMSHC.

family arrived in Georgetown, a son, Clarence Julius, was born. Four years later, the second longest interruption in the births of Basil's children, Hattie gave birth to twins, Caroline Summers and John Broadus, on March 2, 1875. The pair of children, like so many of Basil's others, seemed weak from the start. John died after six months, on October 1, but Caroline seemed to improve. After almost a year and a half, however, she, too, died. Yet another child, Hattie, was born and buried in 1877. Another daughter, Rosa, was born in 1878 but would die just two years later.⁶⁶

As the family struggled with the deaths of so many young children, Basil and Hattie's oldest were reaching adulthood. Basil had every reason to be proud of the oldest of his own children, his namesake Basil Rudolph.⁶⁷ In 1873, while a junior at Georgetown College, he had made a profession of faith and joined the Baptist church.⁶⁸ The year after graduating from Georgetown, he taught school in Owenton, Kentucky, teaching classes in arithmetic, surveying, Latin, and history.⁶⁹ The next year, 1875, Basil, Jr., brought him back to Georgetown as Principal of the Preparatory Department, where

⁶⁶ Caroline died September 10, 1876. The birthdates of the children which are not given here cannot be found. No information on Rosa or Hattie can be located other than their names and the years of their deaths in the family history. These children brought Basil's total to 16 and were Hattie's first five children. Manly, *The Manly Family*, 239, 240; "Carrie's death . . . will prove a sad blow to you, who have watched her improvement so hopefully." Letter from Charles to Basil, September 15, 1876, MFC.

⁶⁷ The family called him Basil; he signed his name B. R. Manly. For clarity, he will be referred to herein as "Basil Rudolph" outside quoted family correspondence.

⁶⁸ Letter from Basil to Charles, March 16, 1873, BMSHC.

⁶⁹ Teacher's Record Book, B. R. Manly, 1874-76, SSA.

he oversaw among his students his younger brothers.⁷⁰ After two years, in 1877, his father brought Basil Rudolph onto the faculty as Instructor in Latin and English, apparently stepping down from the chair of English Literature in 1878 to make room for his son's increasing course load.⁷¹

Basil's two oldest daughters, Lizzie and Louise, received diplomas from Georgetown Female Seminary in the 1870s; he must have been pleased when Louise, and perhaps Lizzie, also followed her father and found employment teaching school.⁷² Two of his younger sons graduated from Georgetown College late in Basil's tenure there. In 1878, George and Murray both gave graduation addresses and received their degrees.⁷³ Again, Basil had every reason for pride in them; George went to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, then in Louisville, and Murray took a position as a rural schoolteacher.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Teacher's Record Book, B. R. Manly, 1874-76, SSA; Catalogue of Georgetown College, 1876-77, GCA.

⁷¹ Basil Rudolph left Georgetown when his father did. Historical Catalogue, 1917. GCA.

⁷² Lizzie did not marry until the age of 31, and likely taught in the interim. As in the College, tuition for young women who planned to teach school was free; the other Manly children took advantage of this aid. Manly, The Manly Family, 217, 231.

⁷³ It is unclear why Murray, two years younger, graduated in the same class. "Commencement Exercises," Georgetown College, June 13, 1878, GCA.

⁷⁴ Historical Catalogue, 1917, GCA. Murray's lower status position would not have been uncommon for recent graduates of Southern colleges; see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 186-187.

As Manly watched his children becoming adults and moving into those fields of activity he had entered long ago, he must have felt some sense of success; as he watched Georgetown College struggling financially, he may well have felt failure. A sense of his attitude toward his time in Georgetown is revealed in the last speech he gave at the college, the commencement address of 1879 in which he outlined “The Past and Future of Georgetown College.”⁷⁵

After going over the school’s past, Manly offered his audience a defense of his administration. “I have done what I could,” he stated plainly. He had “labored among the ruin and rubbish” of the post-war period “to get down to a solid foundation, and prepare to rebuild and enlarge. I think we are down to bed rock.”⁷⁶

Basil defended the administration from the “unkind reflections” and “misapprehensions and complaints regarding the financial management of the College.”⁷⁷ He explained in detail how the “perils and crash of the war” had made the endowment of the college disappear.⁷⁸ The endowment fund had not actually been a fund at all, but a collection of bonds--promised future payments. Confusion had arisen because of the “prevalent and persistent error of counting subscriptions as cash, and so many dollars in

⁷⁵ B. Manly, Jr., “The Past and Future of Georgetown College: The Commencement Address Delivered at its Fiftieth Anniversary, June 21, 1879” (Louisville: Publisher’s name obliterated, 1879,) GCA. The manuscript of the speech is in BMF.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 11, 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

bonds as equal to so many dollars in money.” Basil pointed out “the obvious difference between bonds and dollars, between promises and payments.” The Board of Trustees had not lost any money from the fund; “they have now all that they did have in possession--the paper promise.”⁷⁹ Many who had promised to pay were simply unable to do so in the conditions of the South after the war which “rendered them utterly unable to pay what they had promised.”⁸⁰ Basil invited “the severest scrutiny” of the college books, and promised that any such investigation would demonstrate the “strict accountability for every dollar of funds that has ever actually” been received.⁸¹ With some bitterness, he noted that there had been no attempt by the Board of Trustees to start a new endowment campaign. “I am not murmuring at this,” Basil murmured, “I am only stating a fact.” He had held back from public criticism of the Board because he feared that others would see “personal motives” in his request. Now that he was leaving, he could say that he was “not pleading for myself” in requesting a new fundraising drive.⁸²

Likewise, Basil countered those critics who noted the decline of students at Georgetown. Once more, he pointed out the “unreasonable expectations” of those who had difficulty “recognizing the altered condition of things subsequent to the war.”

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 14. Manly's successor, did have the support of the Board in raising a considerable endowment. Snyder, 61-62.

Whereas twenty-five years before, Georgetown had been one of the finest Baptist colleges in the South, drawing students “from the whole region south and west” of the school, it now faced strong competition from both denominational and public institutions. Indeed, a second Baptist college had been built in Kentucky itself, Bethel College at Russellville, and the loyalty of Kentucky Baptists was split between the two. The public high school of nearby towns, such as Frankfort, Covington, Shelbyville, and Louisville had begun to offer “gratuitous instruction of college grade,” closing off another source of students. The growth of public funding for state universities also limited the market for students, as the reconstructed state universities were “attractive” and endowed with “all needed facilities.” What was more, the “war deprived most of [the South’s] cultivated people of the means to send their children abroad for schooling.”⁸³

The condition of Georgetown had been discouraging; in his final address, however, Basil noted that “my discouragements have been cheered and my efforts stimulated, by the persistent but gentle enthusiasms” of a “lady, who would prefer to be unnamed on this occasion,” clearly his wife Hattie. He also shared his discouragement with his son George. A letter from Basil to George reveals some sense of his perceived failure--although with a more matured, balanced introspection than he would have given thirty years earlier. Shortly after his son arrived to begin studying at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, now relocated to Louisville, Kentucky, Basil wrote him a long letter. As Basil reviewed his life, “it seems to me a great catalogue of short-comings.

⁸³ By “abroad,” Basil means “away from home.” “Past and Future,” 13, 14.

Much that I had planned, I never attempted--much that I attempted has only partially succeeded." Citing Grotius, Basil exclaimed, "Eheu, vitam perdidit laboriose, nihil agenda." [As for myself, my life has been lost to labor, accomplishing nothing.] "As far as I can," Basil wrote, "I would like to guard you against my mistakes."⁸⁴

Basil outlined his "besetting sins." The first had been his tendency to procrastinate. Basil defended himself by saying that it had not been caused solely by "indolence, but often of indecision." Basil advised his son to do "the day's work in a day" and to watch "the right apportionment of time, no matter the difficulties in doing so." Yet Basil recognized that his delayed decisions had often benefited from "new information" which "turned the scale of decision." All considered, though, he wished that he had been more prompt in decision making.

"Another evil" had been the habit of "multiplying the objects of my pursuit." Basil had "labored at many things, rather than much at any of them," and had therefore never achieved "the greatest success." Yet Basil recognized that "this versatility of talent and readiness to turn my hand to anything that came up, has been one of the elements of what usefulness I have achieved."⁸⁵ Basil complained that "while other professors neglected or refused" to do part of their tasks, he had "looked after" them. "I have been all my life," he thought, "a stopper of gaps, a bearer of cast off or neglected burdens of

⁸⁴ Letter from Basil to George, September 28, 1878, LCB, in Joseph Powhatan Cox, "A Study of the Life of Basil Manly, Jr." (Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological seminary, 1954), 275-277.

⁸⁵ Cox has surely misread "which" for "what."

other men, uncomplainingly useful in the tasks that were unobtrusive, or even more drudgery, but absolutely necessary." Even so, he lamented that "I might have accomplished more, on the whole, if I had been a man of one work," if he had "selected my mode of labor wisely." Basil had been "preacher, teacher, editor, agent, financier, lawyer, farmer, doctor--all by turns as occasion seemed to demand, and sometimes several of them at once." Perhaps had he chosen "one idea," he might have been more successful than he had been.

Basil also lamented the fact that his education and teaching had been so broad. While he recognized that he had "rather a wider range of information than is usually attained," there had been "no branch in which I attained a marked and indisputable excellence." He had taught "at one time or another, almost every branch at the Theological Seminary . . . except Church Government," and he "could have done as well as some of the others" who taught the course if he had had the opportunity to do so; "in College and in the Female Institute" he had likewise "taught some of almost every Department of the whole curriculum." While he had not done so "discreditably," neither had he done so "brilliantly or conspicuously successful[ly]." He had been prevented from achieving "thoroughness and completeness in any one branch" of knowledge.

Basil mourned his "great weakness" of a "lack of prayer." Basil believed that "I have not prayed enough. I have not studied the common English Bible enough." Had he his "life to go over again," he would have spent more time in prayer and in reading the "English Scriptures, in the common and revised versions."

At the close of the letter, Basil advised his son to “watch your heart.” Yet with his own melancholy seminary experience in mind, he advised that such introspection must not be “a brooding, morose, remorseful disgust, that discourages rather than corrects or guides,” but both “honest” and “cheerful.”

Clearly, Basil felt that he had not accomplished all that he might have in life; yet his more mature reflection kept him from the deep melancholy of his youth. His perceived failure at Georgetown added to his sense of failure. Had he followed his usual pattern of behavior, he would have soon begun to search for a new position; as it happened, events back at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary would decide his future for him.

CHAPTER 10

"DOCTORS DISAGREE:" THE CONTROVERSY OVER BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

During the latter half of the 1870s, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, experienced the first doctrinal crisis of its history. Typically portrayed as a minor ripple in the narrow stream of Southern Baptist orthodoxy, the issue of biblical inspiration cut to the core of Baptist theology and created tensions which did not pass quickly.¹ When news spread that Crawford H. Toy, Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was teaching his students that the Bible contained historical and scientific inaccuracies, Southern Baptists responded with shock and fear. To a "centralization Baptist" like Basil

¹ The controversy surrounding Crawford H. Toy, where mentioned at all in the historical literature, rarely occupies more than half a sentence, is often lumped in with concerns over Darwinism, and is usually passed over with the mention of Toy's name and the date of his resignation. Emil G. Kraeling, The Old Testament Since the Reformation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 95; John D. Woodbridge, Mark A. Noll, and Nathan Hatch, The Gospel in America: Themes in the Story of America's Evangelicals (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 113; Mark A. Noll, Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), 27, 50; George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 103; C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 443, in the context of "battles over the new sciences, particularly Darwinism" in "sleepy college towns;" the controversies Woodward mentions by name happened to be in Nashville, Tennessee; Louisville, Kentucky; and Columbia, South Carolina, hardly "sleepy college towns." The fullest account of the Toy Controversy is Billy Grey Hurt, "Crawford Howell Toy: Interpreter of the Old Testament." (Th.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1965). For the biblicism of Baptists, see Clark H. Pinnock, "Baptists and Biblical Authority," in Ronald Youngblood, ed., Evangelicals and Inerrancy (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984); E. Y. Mullins, "Baptists and the Bible," ESB.

Manly, Jr., serious theological differences were a threat to the harmonic order of the denomination. The author of the doctrinal standard of the seminary, the previous Professor of Old Testament at Southern, and the one who would in turn replace Toy, Manly took the opportunity provided by the controversy to move the denomination toward unity.

Scholars of Southern religion have generally regarded the rise of theological liberalism as an outgrowth of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the 1920s. Consequently, they have searched--largely in vain--for dramatic reaction to the publication of Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species in 1859. With few exceptions, however, they have emerged from the archives unsuccessful in their quest. Most Southern intellectuals between 1860 and 1920 seem to have either dismissed Darwinism as silliness or accepted it as a valid scientific theory.² Few historians have

² Ferenc Morton Szasz, The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930 (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1982), argues that evolution was "absorbed with relative ease and seemed only mildly threatening to most fin de siecle churchgoers." Szasz, 1. Szasz develops the argument that evolution was not even an issue for early leaders of the Fundamentalist movement; W. B. Wiley, for example: "When the Fundamentals movement [the name early leaders preferred] was originally formed, it was supposed that our particular foe was the so-called 'higher criticism;' but, in the onward going affairs, we discovered that basal to many forms of modern infidelity is the philosophy of evolution." Szasz, 107. The same seems true for the South in the period after the Civil War. The example of James Woodrow is often cited by those who disagree. Woodrow was put through a Presbyterian heresy trial for teaching evolution, and was fired as a professor at Columbia Theological Seminary--but it is worth noting that he was found innocent of heresy in the trial, and was soon installed as Moderator of the South Carolina Presbyterian Synod. Eventually, he became President of the University of South Carolina. R. J. Wilson, ed., Darwinism and the American Intellectual (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1967), 42. William Poteat, president of Wake Forest University, a Southern Baptist college, delivered a supportive lecture on Evolution at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1900 without raising objections, continuing to speak and write about the subject through 1915. Ellen M. Rosenberg, The Southern Baptists: A Subculture in Transition (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 156. Crawford H. Toy himself promoted Darwinism in lectures at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary before 1871 without stirring controversy; Pope A. Duncan,

noted that far more than Darwinism, higher biblical criticism was the dominant concern for Protestant thinkers in the nineteenth century.³

Like the majority of American Protestants, Southern Baptists instinctively accepted an evangelical understanding of scripture.⁴ The Bible was the revelation of God, given to humanity in words which could be adequately understood in ordinary language.⁵ What it said was authoritative, for it rested on the ultimate authority of the word of God.⁶

"Crawford H. Toy: Heresy at Louisville," in George H. Shriver, ed., American Religious Heretics: Formal and Informal Trials (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 64. Forest G. Wood notes the irony of William G. Schell's book Is the Negro a Beast, which used Darwinism to argue for biological racial equality; the book was issued by the Gospel Truth Publishing Company in Moundsville, West Virginia, 1901. Wood, The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 106.

³ Szasz, Divided Mind, 1. Szasz's work provides the most impressive survey of the introduction of biblical criticism into the United States; unfortunately, he begins his survey in 1880. Szasz mentions only two controversies of the 1870s (Toy's is one) but gives only a sentence to each. Noll's Between Faith and Criticism gives only 26 pages to the period 1880-1900, although Toy receives a total of three sentences.

⁴ Noll, Between Faith and Criticism, 11, 15; Nathan Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 179-183.

⁵ This, of course, played a big role in "republican" attitudes toward scripture in general; see Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity. See also William L. Sperry, Religion in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1946), 138-139: "Equalitarianism resented the implication of the term [higher criticism] as being arrogant and impious."

⁶ As Grant Wacker writes, "It is important to distinguish an articulated doctrine of biblical inerrancy from an unarticulated assumption that the Bible is without error." Wacker, "The Demise of Biblical Civilization," in Nathan Hatch and Mark Noll, ed., The Bible in American Civilization: Essays in Cultural History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 135. Constructing such a doctrine would be the challenge for conservative thinkers, and was as creative theologically as the challenges from radical criticism.

The rise of higher criticism within biblical studies challenged this basic assumption about Scripture. As younger Southern theologians, many of them trained in German universities, began to teach a scientific method of studying biblical texts--and especially the more radical conclusions of those studying biblical texts in this way--controversy was sure to follow.

The application of textual study to the Christian scripture falls into two categories: "lower criticism" and "higher criticism."⁷ Lower criticism addresses the purity of the text, attempting to reach an edition of textual variants which would be as close as possible to the original manuscript. While this exercise was not itself new for the nineteenth century (Erasmus had done the same with the few manuscripts of the Greek New Testament which were available to him in 1516), the discovery of a large number of ancient texts, particularly of the New Testament, blossomed during the nineteenth century.⁸ Especially after Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf announced the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, a collection of ancient manuscripts housed in St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai desert, lower criticism had the sources

⁷ "Lower" and "higher," as will be seen, are not terms related to the intellectual ability or theological orthodoxy of critics engaging in the activity; they are not terms which pass judgment. Rather, they refer to what stage in the reception of the texts the critic is addressing. Both conservative and liberal critics may be found in both fields. A good non-technical introduction is found in John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity Interpreted through its Development (New York: Scribners, 1954), 189-198.

⁸ Because of the formal, ritualized structure for copying scripture which existed within Judaism, there were few variant readings in the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible; lower critics focused on determining the precise meaning of Hebrew words. Because the New Testament was transcribed and distributed without official oversight, far more variant readings exist.

at hand to produce prodigious arguments about the textual variants of the Greek New Testament.⁹

Higher criticism, however, went beyond questions of the purity of the text at hand. Higher critics asked questions about the reliability of the original texts themselves. How had the texts been composed? Who had written them? How close in age was their composition to the events described? Because of the amount of time covered by the Hebrew Bible, the Christian Old Testament received most attention from higher critics.

As Kenneth Scott Latourette has argued, the rise of higher criticism must be seen in the context of Western, and especially German, interest in the historical evolution of institutions. The work of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) emphasized the importance of tests, particularly establishing the relationship between the texts and the events described.¹⁰ German historians would come to emphasize the contextualization of historical events, that intellectual activity could not be separated from the general culture in which it was embedded. Moreover, for many German historians, human history was under the guidance of a Supreme Power, often the God of Christianity.¹¹ It is not surprising that the history and development of Judaism and of Christianity would be submitted to this type of textual scrutiny.

⁹ Kenneth Scott Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Volume II: The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), 40; James Bentley, Secrets of Mount Sinai: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible--Codex Sianiticus (Garden City: Doubleday, 1986), 93-137.

¹⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe, 39.

¹¹ Noll, 13. see also Grant Wacker, "The Demise of Biblical Civilization," in Nathan Hatch and Mark Noll, ed., The Bible in America, 125.

The name most associated with the higher criticism of the Old Testament is Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) of the University of Gottingen. Wellhausen argued that the received version of the Pentateuch was from an age long after Moses, the product of later redactors who strung together three distinct traditions together, adding yet a fourth of their own. As Presbyterian M. B. Lambdin put it, "The Pentateuch is therefore not Mosaic, but a mosaic."¹²

In time, the ideas addressed under the umbrella of Wellhausen's name included not only the denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but questions as to the historicity and age of the books of Jonah, Job, and Daniel, the common authorship of the book of Isaiah, and the historical reliability of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. What would eventually come to be labeled "the results" of higher criticism argued that all of these questioned books were written long after the time period described, and were either historically inaccurate or fictional.¹³

The introduction of these more radical conclusions of higher criticism to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary created an atmosphere of anxious tension. Crawford H. Toy (1836-1919) was educated at the University of Virginia and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, where he studied under Basil Manly, Jr. After two years of study at the University of Berlin, he was elected Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at Southern in 1869. The addition of Toy to the faculty reduced Manly's work load, as Toy took over much of the instruction in Old Testament which had been Manly's territory as Professor of Old Testament Interpretation and Biblical

¹² in "The Higher Criticism: Its Rationalistic Type," Union Seminary Magazine, 19 (1907-08):114. Cited in Szasz, 17.

¹³ Conservatives such as Manly complained that these "results" were often seen as the only possible scientific results of the method itself, which Manly fully accepted as a valid scientific enterprise; Manly, Bible Doctrine of Inspiration, 178-179.

Introduction. When Manly resigned in 1871, Toy served as the sole instructor in Old Testament at Southern.

Toy's instruction in higher criticism at the University of Berlin slowly became apparent in his teaching; by 1876, he had departed considerably from his earlier inerrantist position.¹⁴ The exact nature of Toy's teachings by 1876 are unclear; but from the lecture notes of his students, they can be roughly reconstructed.¹⁵ In his lectures, Toy at least hinted at two sources for the creation accounts of Genesis 1 and 2, a key assumption of the Wellhausen thesis, and rejected the idea that either account is an historical, scientific outline of the creation. At the same time, he appeared to reject the concept that the Genesis accounts were theologized, metaphorical narratives. Rather, the authors of these accounts were simply wrong, and the creation accounts of no value.¹⁶

Toy's ideas continued to develop. Certainly by 1878, Toy had accepted most of the radical textual conclusions of higher criticism; by the same time, he had apparently retreated to the less radical theological position that certain biblical narratives,

¹⁴ Toy certainly raised no eyebrows in his inaugural lecture at Southern, "The Claim of Biblical Inspiration on Baptists," when he proclaimed that scripture "is in every iota of its substance absolutely and infallibly true." It is instructive to note that his popular lectures on Darwinism, delivered soon thereafter, was received without complaint, either. Duncan, 62, 64.

¹⁵ For example, Gardner, George William. "Class Notebook for Old Testament Interpretation under C. H. Toy," Fall, 1876. Fleming Library Collection, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, relying on the reconstructions in L. Russ Bush and Thomas J. Nettles, Baptists and the Bible: The Baptist Doctrines of Biblical Inspiration and Religious Authority in Historical Perspective (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 227-241.

¹⁶ Bush and Nettles, 230.

although historically inaccurate, could in fact be revelations from God.¹⁷ The content of many Biblical passages "is not that which seems to us correct, but it has nothing to do with their message of religious truth from God. . . . The message is not less divine to me."¹⁸

At some point in the Spring of 1878, Toy was confronted by James Petigru Boyce, chairman of the seminary faculty, who was concerned that Toy's teachings were contrary to the Abstract of Principles which guided the theology taught there.¹⁹ Toy would come to argue that his position was not contrary to the Abstract, since he saw the Bible as inspired by God, and the authority in matters of "saving knowledge and obedience;" none of these were affected by his recognition of errors in history, geology, or biology. Toy admitted, however, that this was a "divergence from the prevailing views in the denomination" which saw scripture as inerrant.²⁰ Whether or not Toy made this argument to Boyce in 1878, he agreed that at a denominational seminary, he had an obligation to teach those prevailing views, and pledged not to continue to teach the more radical results of higher criticism. From then on, he promised, he would teach his courses from the perspective of the doctrines described in the Abstract, as understood by the denomination. The combination of curious

¹⁷ Harold Lindsell, Battle for the Bible (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 95-96.

¹⁸ Toy, Resignation Paper, 1879, reprinted in its entirety in Shriver, 79-84.

¹⁹ Boyce was not only acting as president of the seminary at the time (the title of "chairman of the faculty" was officially changed to "president" in 1888), but President of the Southern Baptist Convention as well (1872-79, 1888). For the title change, see Robert A. Baker, The Baptist March in History (Nashville: Convention Press, 1958), 83.

²⁰ Toy, Resignation Paper, 1879.

students and Toy's conscience, however, soon made this plan of action impossible; Toy found himself unable to keep his pledge.

By the end of the first semester after Toy's conversation with Boyce, rumors spread throughout the denomination that a professor at Southern was teaching contrary to the Abstract. A letter signed only "E. T. R." to the Religious Herald, a Virginia Baptist newspaper, brought general charges of unorthodoxy against seminary professors, explicitly accusing an unnamed professor of teaching that the Bible contained historical and scientific inaccuracies.²¹ Understandably, this accusation sent a shockwave through the denomination, especially as rumor settled on Toy as the guilty party.

A letter from Charles, Basil's brother and closest confidant, indicates some of the shock that accompanied this rumor. Writing to Basil in January 1879, Charles stated that he was "somewhat surprised, and pained not a little," that such an anonymous charge could be made "in that way. I had no idea to whom allusion was made--and certainly did not suspect that Toy was one of the parties alluded to." Charles had never uncovered any "unsoundness" in Toy's articles, nor had he seen any indication that Toy "did not believe in the plenary inspiration."²² Charles begged Basil for more gossip: "Do you know precisely what are his [Toy's] views? . . . [I] will be greatly

²¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, January 21, 1879, MFC.

²² Plenary inspiration is the doctrine that the Bible, in its totality, is in all parts equally inspired by God, and is a revelation of divine authority. It is not a particular theory of inspiration, but a description of its assumed result. It may or may not include the idea that the very words of scripture are the precise words given by God; this doctrine is referred to as verbal inspiration. To complicate matters, neither position necessarily requires the "inerrancy" of scripture as defined by many contemporary evangelicals. The distinction is most clearly made in Kern Robert Trembath, Evangelical Theories of Biblical Inspiration: A Review and Proposal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 88-103.

obliged if you will let me know anything of which you come into possession--If you wish it to be kept confidentially, I will scrupulously do it."²³ Charles was still uncertain about Toy's actual position as late as November of that year, although he had read Toy's published statement.²⁴

By May of 1879, Toy had come to the conclusion that in good conscience, since "my views of inspiration differ considerably from those of the body of my brethren," his only action could be to resign.²⁵ Within days, Basil was unanimously elected to his old position as Professor of Old Testament at the seminary.²⁶

Despite his tendency to procrastinate, his decision to return to Southern was made quickly; even before Toy's resignation was announced publicly, Charles wrote Basil that "I have no doubt you have done right in accepting professorship in Seminary."²⁷ Within three weeks, Charles was again writing to reassure Basil that he had made the right choice to leave the presidency of Georgetown College and follow the "conviction of your duty in going to the seminary;" Basil had been moved when the "people" at Georgetown grieved his departure.²⁸

The seminary's request for Manly to rejoin the faculty was issued not only from respect for his scholarship, although that was considerable. By hiring the author of the

²³ Letter from Charles to Basil, January 21, 1879, MFC.

²⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, November 24, 1879, MFC.

²⁵ Toy, Resignation Letter. After leaving Southern in 1879, he eventually became Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages at Harvard University.

²⁶ Duncan, 70; Manly, The Manly Family, 217.

²⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, May 20, 1879, MFC.

²⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, June 13, 1879, MFC.

Abstract of Principles himself to replace Toy, the seminary sent a signal throughout the convention that it was doctrinally sound.

The importance of Southern theologians in the linguistic study of scripture, especially the Old Testament, has long been recognized, and Manly was in the forefront.²⁹ Moreover, as Manly grew in his philological study of scripture, he had begun pursuing a clearer theological understanding of inspiration. Certainly the doctrine had interested him for some time. A rough draft of the final exam for his "Biblical Introduction" course at the seminary in the Spring of 1861 revealed his concern for arguments in this area:

5. State the Doctrine of Inspiration; Describe the 3 classes who reject it. Show that plenary inspiration is not inconsistent with the peculiarities of style evinced by the sacred writers. Give the chief scientific proofs of the Inspiration of the Bible. Show why it is not illogical to know the inspiration of the Bible by the testimony of the Bible itself.

It is also clear that Manly had emphasized this topic in his lectures, as he assigns twenty of a possible one hundred points to this question. In contrast, "Give as complete an account as you can of Jeremiah and his prophecies" was weighted at only seven points.³⁰

²⁹ "I have continued the study of Syraic--which adds a good deal to the pressure on my time." Letter from Basil to Unidentified Recipient [Charles?], illegible date [January or June 5, 6, or 8], 1869, BMSHC. Southern scholarship in biblical languages is discussed briefly in Samuel S. Hill, Jr., *Southern Churches in Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 102; even W. J. Cash begrudgingly admits that "Southerners were pioneers in this time in philological paths;" *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1941), 144.

³⁰ "Rough Draft of Examination Paper in Biblical Introduction." "I was just about to burn this, but stuck it in, and you may see its nature." Included in Letter to "Parents," May 22, 1861, BMSHC. In all, 41% of the exam (by points) addressed issues of the inspiration and the scientific and historical reliability of scripture, including the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, "apparent contradictions," and the relationship between inspired original manuscripts and fallible translations.

By the late 1860s, Manly could describe the subject as one he was "specially studying" and was becoming increasingly distressed with the rise of higher criticism. When Thomas Fenner Curtis, Basil's old pastor in Tuskaloosa, sent him a copy of his book The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scripture, Basil wrote Charles that "while the man is one whom I love," Basil's response to the book was "painful." He suggested that a more appropriate title for the book might be "The Bible Not Infallible."³¹ In the same letter, Manly displayed his distaste for German higher criticism by describing the biblical theology of conservative scholar Keil as "as sound as most of the Germans can get to be."³² In accepting the position at Southern, the seminary gained a combination of scholarship and conservatism which it needed to still the waters of controversy.

Basil had only a short time to prepare for the move to Louisville. He had written Charles that he planned to spend the summer doing research at the seminary in either Rochester, New York or Princeton, New Jersey. Saying that "that is one of the things I want to write you about," Charles warned his brother that he had best be prepared for a tumultuous welcome back at the seminary.³³

"The students who had been under Toy's scholarly instruction must feel from the first, that they are at no real disadvantage by reason of his resignation," he warned.

³¹ Letter from Basil to Charles, August 30, 1867, BMSHC.

³² With the pedantic nature he often brought to his letters, Basil chastises Charles for asking "about Kiel (Keil, I suppose you mean.)." Letter from Basil to Charles, August 30, 1867, BMSHC. Johann Friedrich Karl Keil, professor at the University of Dorpat, was a conservative Lutheran opponent of higher criticism. Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe, 45.

³³ Letter from Charles to Basil, June 7, 1879, MFC.

"The first month of the session must convince them of that, and in order to make sure of it, you ought by all means to bend yourself to real digging."

Charles continued to exhort Basil not to be "drawn aside from the most important thing for you to do in preparing for the actual work of your chair," even going so far as to put the ultimate pressure on him: "And right here let me say that Mother says "tell Basil that I say, don't put off too late what he has to do in preparing of his duties."

In the same lengthy letter, Charles offered a room in his home for Basil to use as a study for the remainder of the summer while "the boys" moved the family to Louisville. "So, just pack up and come along. Bring such books as you wish and we will make you as comfortable as possible so that you may work in Hebrew, Syraic, and Chaldee roots undisturbed."³⁴

Such preparation was essential; the test of Manly's rehiring would be his inaugural lecture at Southern.³⁵ Charles had written him, "Dr. Broadus tells me that

³⁴ Later Charles would reveal another motive for this offer, as he needed a minister to supply his pulpit that season while he traveled on behalf of the International Sunday School and Bible Board. Letter from Charles to Basil, June 7, 1879, MFC; "Now, can't you come over in time to preach for me on the 1st Sunday in July, along with your work preparing for Seminary duties, keep up the services until I get back--which will be as soon as possible?" Letter from Charles to Basil, June 27, 1879, MFC. Basil did supply for Charles at least the month of July, and possibly into August.

³⁵ "Why and How to Study the Bible: The Introductory Lecture before the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Sept. 1st, by Rev. Basil Manly, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Interpretation," Western Register, 45, September 4, 1879, 1. The lecture occupies the entire front page of this issue. While supplying for Charles that summer, Basil had delivered a draft of the lecture as a sermon, which Charles reported was well-received by "our most intelligent people . . . giving them much instruction and pleasure" Letter from Charles to Basil, August 19, 1879, MFC.

you will be expected to make the opening address. It is important that you should thoroughly prepare for that."³⁶ Manly would have to make the case for an understanding of scripture consistent with his own Abstract while demonstrating his knowledge of the biblical scholarship undertaken since leaving the position eight years before. At the same time, he needed to avoid alienating Toy's supporters among the student body. It would be a difficult balancing act.

Without mentioning Toy or the controversy directly, Manly skillfully dropped key words that indicated his full acceptance of the plenary inspiration of scripture. Manly refers to the Bible as "The Word of God," "God's words," "God's book," "God's truth," "the truth of God," "heaven-sent," and "sacred oracles," all marked by "authenticity and divinity," since the "blessed truth was to become incarnated."³⁷ Simultaneously, Manly showed himself to be conversant with contemporary movements in Biblical studies, mentioning the work of Alford, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Conybeare, Howson, Lewin, Hanna, Farrar, and Geikie. He also applauded the effort to revise the Authorized Version of the Bible; "Must we content ourselves with advancing in the knowledge of religious truth only as far as King James' translators

³⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, June 7, 1879, MFC.

³⁷ This last phrase is particularly interesting in the way Manly will come to understand the doctrine later in The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration.

saw and understood, and no farther?" The revision of this translation then in process, Manly argued, was "a work of vast importance and of high promise."³⁸

Moreover, Manly bemoaned the lack of training in the original biblical languages "in all the borders of our Southern Zion," especially the rarity of "original and personal researches" in Hebrew and Greek philology. Ministers trained in biblical languages would read the "Word of God . . . as God from heaven gave it to us."³⁹ Professors of biblical studies needed to do the work of training future ministers in the linguistic background they would need.

But Manly boldly proclaimed his hostility to radical higher criticism, mentioning especially the work of "learned philology in ungodly hands" of New Englanders and Germans. There was a danger, Manly argued, in devoting all of one's time to minute inspections of scripture without looking at how the parts fit into the whole. Just as a fly crawling on the surface of Raphael's Transfiguration would see only confused

³⁸ The revision of the Authorized [King James] Version of scripture was begun in 1870. The [British] Revised Version appeared in sections between 1881 and 1885; the American Standard Version, a variant of the RV, was published in 1901. Preface, The Holy Bible: Revised [American] Standard Version, 1952. A distinctly Baptist revision, the Bible Union Version or "Baptist Bible," included John Broadus and John Sampey, Southern Seminary professors, on the committee. The version was released in 1891 (NT) and 1912 (OT) but never achieved popularity, despite its translation into distinctly Baptist terms (such as the use of the English "immerse" for the Greek baptizo.) ESB, s.v. "Biblical Studies, Southern Baptist."

³⁹ Manly here echoes a letter he had written his parents twelve years earlier addressing the "free translation" of the New Testament from the pulpit; such translating from Greek gave his congregation more insight into "a larger portion of God's word, as God Gave it." Letter from Basil to "Parents," March 8, 1867, BMSHC.

splotches of color, the critic who focused solely on difficulties with one passage saw only confused nonsense. Proper biblical scholarship, he asserted, would "harmonize apparently conflicting views and statements into that blessed unity in variety wherein consists its true beauty."

Because of Manly's reluctance to address the controversy directly, he spoke to the issues raised by Toy obliquely. Remarking on how the Hebrew King David delighted in the study of scripture, he exhorted his audience to realize they had even more reason to desire biblical knowledge. "How many attractions have been added to the Bible since! He had nothing probably but the Pentateuch, and two or three historical books, and Job." In this off-hand manner, Manly indicated his acceptance of conservative dating of scriptural material without directly confronting the issue.

Manly summarized his approach to scripture by attacking both those who held to "traditional interpretations just because they are old, and not because they are true" and those who "rush eagerly after novelties untested and unproved, simply because they are ti kainoteron, the 'something newer' which the Athenians were so eager to hear and tell." Those who were "eager to be in the front rank of the party of modern progress" were not marked by true devotion to the truth of scripture.

Manly's lecture was well-received, yet because Toy continued to publish articles in Baptist journals, the issue did not go away.⁴⁰ Neither did concerns for the spread of

⁴⁰ "I am afraid Toy's articles in Baptist Courier are going to give trouble before long, not doing any positive good." Letter from Charles to Basil, February 18, 1881, MFC.

Toy's teachings throughout the denomination. In 1881, two missionary candidates, T. P. Bell and John Stout, applied for a charge from the Foreign Mission Board to go to China. Much to the alarm of some members of the board, their views on inspiration matched those of Toy's.⁴¹ As Charles wrote Basil, in Germany to study with higher critic Franz Delitzsch, "some brethren were not quite satisfied" with their "supposed views on Inspiration."⁴² H. A. Tupper, corresponding secretary of the board, had in fact written Charles for advice on the action the board should take. Charles understood their positions to be "substantially the ground set forth by Dr. Toy in his paper presented to the Trustees of the Seminary," but that they did not "follow Toy in the conclusions he has announced, especially as reference the Book of Daniel--i.e., that it is not a reliable history" but was a Hellenistic fable.

"Bell told me himself that he has no definite theory of inspiration--only that he does not hold to what is known as the 'plenary-verbal theory'." Indeed, Bell seemed reluctant to say anything directly about his views; he waited for Stout to submit a paper, and then wrote the board that he was in "substantial accord with him [Stout] in the views expressed and give a hearty 'Amen' thereto."⁴³

⁴¹ Bell had studied under Toy for two years, 1874-76, before leaving the seminary; he returned to graduate in 1880, after Manly had resumed the Old Testament position at Southern. ESB, s.v. "Bell, Theodore Percy." Stout apparently had some contact with Toy, since Toy had left Southern only two years previously.

⁴² Letter from Charles to Basil, June 21, 1881, MFC.

⁴³ Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board, June 21, 1881, and June 24, 1881, 434-436, in Thomas J. Nettles, "Missions and Creeds," Founders Journal, 18, Fall 1994.

Charles expressed a typical fear for Southern Baptists: that theological turmoil would hinder financial support of denominational efforts. He especially feared that the "esteem in which Stout is held in this state [South Carolina] and the confidence felt in his piety, prudence, and consecration" would lead South Carolina Baptists to stop funding the Foreign Mission Board if he was denied a charge; alternately, he feared that Baptists in other states would stop their support if the Board approved him. "They have a serious question to consider."⁴⁴

Replying from Leipzig, Basil argued that there was "not sufficient reason for the Board to decline to send them. I do not know the precise shape of views of either of them, but I have high confidence in them, and in their holding [?] of the Gospel." For Basil, "there is a broad distinction between the position of an ordinary preacher or missionary and that of a Professor of Theology," and reminded Charles that in 1856, Boyce had argued the same in his call for a confessional basis for any future seminary.⁴⁵ Basil added that "I should not hesitate" to ordain Bell or Stout as "a Preacher at home" and would recommend either of them to "any church that would be disposed to call them." He saw no reason why Baptists should enforce a doctrinal position on missionary candidates chosen by local churches, and considered writing

⁴⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, June 21, 1881, MFC.

⁴⁵ Ironically, Boyce was secretly stirring up the opposition to Stout and Bell. Nettles, "Missions and Creeds;" Letter from Charles to Basil, June 21, 1881, MFC.

the Board to tell them so; he realized, however, that any letter he wrote would cross the Atlantic long after a decision had been made.⁴⁶

Not only did the controversy affect the charges of foreign missionaries; even venerated Southern Baptist leaders were not immune from rumors that they were slipping from the standard. In February, 1881, a brief conversation between Charles Manly and "Bro. J. Q. Adams" sent Charles to his desk to write Basil of concerns for the doctrinal position of such a venerated Southern Baptist as John Broadus.⁴⁷ Charles wrote that Adams appeared to make a charge that "surprise me not a little": that Broadus had said that he was "in the finest state of uncertainty as to the canonicity and inspiration of the 1st chapter of Genesis" and that "he would not feel warranted in preaching from any part of it as a text of God's word."⁴⁸ On the heels of the Toy Controversy, such a charge would have indeed been serious.⁴⁹

Nearly a month later, Charles wrote again, after meeting Adams that morning. In a complete about-face, Adams "says that he didn't intend to convey the idea that Dr.

⁴⁶ Letter from Basil to Charles, July 8, 1881, BMSHC. The board had in fact already withdrawn Stout and Bell's appointments when the letter was written. Ironically, Bell would himself become corresponding secretary of the FMB in 1893; ESB, s.v. "Bell, Theodore Percy."

⁴⁷ The conversation took place on February 17; the letter was written the next day. J. Q. Adams was an historian and Southern Baptist minister.

⁴⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 18, 1881, MFC.

⁴⁹ There is good reason to believe that Broadus' views were indeed not far distant from Toy's. William A. Mueller, A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 70-75; Hurt, 190-194.

B. had any doubts as to the canonicity and inspiration of the 1st chapter of Genesis," and assured Charles that Broadus's views were not "substantially those expressed by Dr. Toy." Although Charles accepted a share of the blame for the misunderstanding-- ""My impression of his meaning may have been imperfect in part for not attending sufficiently to what he said and in part for his not expressing himself with care"-- it is difficult to imagine such a misunderstanding occurring. Adams "seems very desirous" that Basil tell Broadus that Adams had not been spreading this rumor.⁵⁰ Ten days later, Charles again passed on a message from Adams: "You have explained to Dr. Broadus about Bro. J. Q. Adams' understanding of his remarks on Genesis? He is concerned that he should not be misunderstood."⁵¹

Despite the controversy, the relationship between both Basil and Charles Manly and Toy remained cordial; both Manly's often expressed their concern for Toy's spiritual condition. When he heard of Toy's edging closer to Unitarianism, Charles would write Basil, "As to Toy, I am profoundly sorry. . . . 'Facilis descensus Avernus.' I would not be surprised at anything from him now."⁵² Toy, in turn, would submit a memorial essay to the Seminary Magazine on Basil's death.⁵³

⁵⁰ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 11, 1881, MFC.

⁵¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 21, 1881, MFC.

⁵² "The descent to hell is easy." Vergil, Aeneid VI. Vergil continues, "But to retrace one's steps and escape to the upper world--that is work, that is labor." Letter from Charles to Basil, December 12, 1881, MFC.

⁵³ C. H. Toy, "Impressions of Dr. Manly," The Seminary Magazine, 5, March 1892.

Within a year after Manly's resumption of the chair of Old Testament Interpretation, Charles began prodding his brother to write a book-length treatment of the doctrine of inspiration. As had become his pattern, he did so by pointing to Basil's knowledge and strengths in the area. Addressing "the Inspiration discussion in the papers," he suggests that "some one, who has the time and ability to do it . . . review the positions of some of our young brethren and show them some things they have not perhaps seen." About these younger men, Charles added, "They are honest and earnest, I presume; and some of them may be saved from difficulty if the matter is taken in time." Bemoaning the fact that he had neither studied the doctrine thoroughly, nor had the time to do so himself, he sent Basil a list of sources "which I suppose you have seen."⁵⁴ More than a year later came another reminder of Basil's expertise: "What do you think of McIlwaine's book as a text? . . . What do you think of his definition of inspiration--p.393 ch. xiii--From whom is he quoting?"⁵⁵

For nearly eight years Charles kept up the prodding. In 1885, he reminded Basil of a "remark you penciled on back of it [an examination for that semester] about printing your lectures on inspiration" and mentioned that he had shown it to Luther Broadus; "He said, 'I wish he would'.⁵⁶ More than two years later, in May of 1887,

⁵⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 22, 1880, MFC.

⁵⁵ Letter from Charles to Basil, December 15, 1881, MFC.

⁵⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, January 8, 1885, MFC. Luther Broadus was a distant relative of John Broadus; the family used two variant spellings of the name. ESB, s.v. "Luther Broadus."

Charles wrote that "when you go to N.C., I hope you will be able to accomplish your plans of bookwriting."⁵⁷

It is difficult to explain Manly's delay; his lectures, of course, were already written, and had been for some time. A trip to Germany in 1881 had provided the opportunity to learn the latest from the German critics. Still, Manly delayed publication; once more, his tendency to procrastination and, perhaps, a fear of criticism held him back from publication. The Louisville Times reported in December of 1887 that Manly "is writing a book on 'Inspiration,' which is almost completed."⁵⁸ The book, The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration, was finally published in New York in April, 1888.⁵⁹

Manly's Bible Doctrine of Inspiration fits well into what Mark Noll has called "the conservative evangelical stance." Noll gives six characteristics of conservative intellectual reaction to higher criticism. First, conservatives were not anti-intellectual reactionaries, but emphasized scholarship in their lives and writings. Second, conservatives "did not abandon criticism," but considered themselves within the

⁵⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, May 26, 1887, MFC.

⁵⁸ In a report on the physical assault on Basil. Louisville Times, December 16, 1887, BMF.

⁵⁹ Some indication of the importance of Manly's book on contemporary Southern Baptist life is that it was one of the first books reprinted in the "Baptist Classics" series when the conservative faction gained control of Broadman Press in the mid-1990s. All page references are to this edition, as it is more readily available. Basil Manly, Jr. The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration (Nashville: Broadman and Holman Press, 1995).

framework of a critical approach to scripture; it was "prejudiced criticism, criticism corrupted by bias, unbelieving criticism, that they attacked." Third, it was this bias which most upset them; nineteenth-century conservatives were concerned about the presuppositions scholars brought to their work "long before" scholars began to address the social construction of knowledge. Fourth, conservatives acknowledged their own presuppositions, but argued that those presuppositions deserved a place in the scholarly marketplace. Fifth, they saw biblical criticism as vitally important, as addressing the most critical question of all, whether or not God had revealed himself to humanity. Sixth, conservatives did not fall into one rigid category or classification, and were certainly not literalists; many saw no contradiction at all between Genesis and Darwin. Moreover, conservatives did not agree on any one theory of inspiration, but recognized the validity of various approaches to the doctrine. And seventh, these scholars were more concerned with criticism of the Old Testament than of the New Testament, since the former was more radical.⁶⁰

Noll's presentation provides a good starting point for understanding Manly's entire intellectual career, but especially his Bible Doctrine of Inspiration. Early in the first chapter, Manly addresses the necessity for reaching an answer to the question, "Is the Bible the Word of God?"⁶¹ The "deficiencies of an uninspired Bible" would be that there would be "no infallible standard of truth," "no authoritative rule for

⁶⁰ Noll, Between Faith and Criticism, 22-24.

⁶¹ Manly, Bible Doctrine, 22.

obedience," "no ground for confident and everlasting hope," and "no suitable means. . . for drawing man's soul trustfully and lovingly upward to its heavenly Father."⁶²

Manly clearly recognizes the validity of the critical method itself; he simply distances himself from what he complains is often reported as "the verdict of criticism." Rather, Manly argues that "doctors disagree, and so do critics." Nothing in the methodology itself is wrong; the problem is too often the "cool assumptions" of anti-supernaturalist critics such as Graf and Kuenen.⁶³ Moreover, for "a large part of the questions discussed by the higher criticism," there were no implications for the inspiration of scripture; Manly is comfortable admitting that additions to texts "inserted by some later hand"⁶⁴ or texts "by one author or several, whether earlier or later," had "no decisive bearing" on questions of infallibility.⁶⁵ Finally, not only did Manly recognize a variety of theories of inspiration as within the borders of orthodoxy, but he flatly refused to offer one of his own.⁶⁶ He was less concerned with the process of inspiration than with what he called, in good Southern Evangelical Baconian terms, the "facts" of inspiration.⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid., 22-23.

⁶³ Ibid., 178.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 180.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 179.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 56.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 23; "But the question is one of fact, not of theory." 17.

It would be unfair to categorize Manly's work as merely a restatement of the "Princeton Theology" he had learned in his youth. Manly does attempt to bring together the "deductive" defense for biblical inspiration associated with Princeton with the newer "inductive" defense then being popularized by Augustus H. Strong.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Manly's broad outline does follow the "deductivist" pattern.⁶⁹ That is, he sets up a definition of inspiration, and then examines scripture to see if it matches the definition. For Manly, inspiration is "that divine influence that secures the accurate transference of truth into human language by a speaker or writer, so as to be communicated to other men."⁷⁰

Manly begins by offering six understandings of how the Bible may be said to be inspired. Five of them he rejects, including the theory which he termed "mechanical inspiration," that biblical writers were mere copyists of each word sent directly to them by God. This, Manly argued, would deny the individual styles and personalities of the various writers which are clearly evident. The sixth view he defends: the plenary, or full, inspiration of scripture: "that the Bible as a whole is the word of God, so that in

⁶⁸ The inductive defense of inspiration should be distinguished from the inductive arguments used in the deductive defense. Tremblath, 8-10. In his concern for the experience of the scriptural writers, Manly leans on inductivist Augustus H. Strong, *Systematic Theology* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1886). Manly is also close to the position of inductivist E. Y. Mullins, *Freedom and Authority in Religion* (Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1913), 378-382.

⁶⁹ Tremblath, 8-10.

⁷⁰ Manly, *Bible Doctrine*, 37.

every part of Scripture there is both infallible truth and divine authority.”⁷¹ Or, more simply, “The whole Bible is truly God’s word written by men.”⁷²

The second section of the work, entitled “Proofs of Inspiration,” draws on internal evidence from claims made by biblical writers. Manly argues that this “is the method employed in all the physical sciences, to argue from the facts back to the influences or circumstances under which they were produced.” Drawing “legitimate induction” from the “phenomena of Scripture,” Manly claims, is “the only truly scientific, as well as the scriptural, method of arriving at the genuine doctrine of inspiration.”⁷³ Establishing the claims of biblical writers to having been inspired, he concludes by addressing objections to the doctrine he defends.⁷⁴

It is important to understand the purpose of Manly’s Bible Doctrine of Inspiration. Manly specifically addresses only Christian readers who, he writes, “”had a general conviction of the divine authority of the Scriptures, but did not see how this was to be reconciled with some of the conclusions of modern scholarship.”⁷⁵ Much of the foundation on which Manly constructs his argument he assumes will be accepted

⁷¹ Ibid., 53.

⁷² Ibid., 77.

⁷³ Ibid., 92-93.

⁷⁴ Manly’s argument is summarized in more detail by Dwight A. Moody, “Doctrines of Inspiration in the Southern Baptist Theological Tradition” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982), 80-97.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 201.

by the reader. “For we are discussing with Christians, not with infidels,” he writes. “Accordingly, we are fairly entitled to argue on these data.” The work deserves to be read as polemical, not apologetic, theology; it is designed to strengthen the faith of Christians in the authority of scripture, not convince those who had already decided against what Manly believes to be the historical teachings of Christianity.⁷⁶

Understood in this way, Manly’s work takes on more importance than it seems at first glance. By shoring up the conservative understanding of scripture, he made it easier for those seminarians troubled by the doubts raised by Toy to return to the traditional understanding of scripture which his *Abstract of Principles* affirmed. This published response to the issues raised in the Toy Controversy would keep the Southern Seminary immune from the more radical conclusions of higher criticism for some time.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Charles Rufus Brown of Newton Theological Institute saluted Manly’s “uniform gentlemanliness and generosity toward opponents so difficult to maintain in a controversial work. . . He does not once say, “You cannot be true to the Bible unless you accept my doctrine of the Bible.” . . . What he does say is more like this: “I honor you as Christian brethren true to your convictions, and so I make an honest effort to convince you that you are wrong by presenting considerations which may not have occurred to you.” “Review Article on Basil Manly’s Bible Doctrine of Inspiration,” The Old Testament Student, 8(1988):3, 106, cited by Cox, 327.

⁷⁷ The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration would be used as a required text in the seminary until 1906. Moody, 81. For a brief discussion of its return to Southern, see Barnhart, 202-204.

CHAPTER 11
“THIS IS A NEW TRIAL FOR US:” TRAGEDY AND PERSEVERANCE IN THE
FINAL DECADE

A series of tragedies struck Basil and his family in the 1880s. With no apparent warning, Basil's fourteen-year-old daughter Mary became ill in early September, 1880, at the home of Charles, where Hattie and Basil's children may have all been visiting.¹ She grew gradually weaker, and died on September 9; her Uncle Charles preached her funeral.² A precocious child, she had written an article on missionaries to be published in a Baptist paper shortly before her death.³ Basil hardly had time to grieve for her before another of his children was dead.

On September 24, 1880, Charles, in Greenville, learned from his brother that Basil's oldest son, Basil Rudolph, was dead.⁴ “We are at once shocked and plunged in

¹ Basil's wife and children were there in June. Letter from Mary [wife of Charles] to Charles, June 7, 1880, UAL. Charles was away from home: “Mary was more comfortable, but weaker. She is staying upstairs today.” Letter from Mary [wife of Charles] to Charles, September 6, 1880, UAL; “Mary very low better come home tonights train.” Copy of Telegram from Julius to Charles, September 8, 1880, UAL.

² Charles Manly, Diary, September 10, 1880, Furman University Archives.

³ Mary Lane Manly, “Missions.” The manuscript is in the SSA.

⁴ Basil Rudolph had died September 19. Louise Manly simply records his death; Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930), 231. Charles was in Greenville because he had accepted the position of President of Furman University.

the profoundest grief. . . . Dear Brother, I know not what to say. Our hearts are all bleeding together." The shock came because there had been no indication that Basil Rudolph was ill. "He seemed so strong and buoyant that we didn't think of his death so nigh at hand. . . . I suppose," Charles reasoned, "there must have been a severe malarial fever akin to yellow fever."⁵

A few days later Charles and his family received the horrible news which "shocked and startled us." Basil Rudolph had taken his own life. Rereading Basil's first letter informing them of the death of his son, Charles saw something hinted at which he had not seen on the first reading--it was apparent that Basil "had apprehended suicide" even before hearing the truth. "It had not occurred to any of us--though now I wonder that it had not," he added sadly. "Dear Brother, this is a new trial for us--different from any ever before experienced." Although Charles "felt awful about it," he tried his best, if perhaps poorly, to console Basil with the thought that "this end throws some light on the doubts and glooms he so often suffered from. We might have been at a loss to account for them had he lived so long and been useful as a Professor in a college." Perhaps realizing that his words were of little comfort, Charles hastened to add, "as it is, I am persuaded that his mind was really more liable to complete unhingement than any of us

⁵ Letter from Charles to Basil, September 25, 1880, MFC.

suspected. It was in the direction of religious melancholy that this insanity manifested itself.” Regardless of the cause, “the occasion is one of unspeakable sadness.”⁶

Basil felt an unbearable load of guilt, because he had written Basil Rudolph a letter just before his suicide which Basil believed may have driven him to take his life. He sent a copy of the letter to Charles, who assured him that “I do not see a single expression in your letter to Basil which could possibly have had an unfavorable influence on his mind. Indeed, the more I reflect on all the facts which have been brought to light,” Charles added, “the more I am convinced that his was a clear case of insanity which had been increasing for several years.” Basil had discovered that in Basil Rudolph’s last few days, he had written to James Furman, retired President of Furman University in Greenville; Charles promised to secure the letter and send it to Basil. He also urged Basil to be honest with his friends about the entire circumstances of Basil Rudolph’s death; knowing the full story of his son’s depression and “apparent insanity” would “tend greatly to relieve their minds from the sense of horror which the mere knowledge that he died by his own hand must necessarily produce.” Perhaps a printed circular could be sent to those close to the family with “no ill effect--probably much good. I only suggest this,” Charles added, “not insisting on it.”⁷

⁶ Basil had sent Charles a copy of a letter from Professor Tucker of the University of Virginia more fully explaining the circumstances of Basil Rudolph’s death. Letter from Charles to Basil, September 27, 1880, MFC.

⁷ Charles told Basil that the father of Travers Phillips, who “was found dead in his bed, shot through the head by a pistol in his own hand,” had circulated a similar letter which eased the minds of his friends. The addition of the details of young Phillips’ suicide may

Perhaps to ease his mourning, the seminary faculty agreed to allow Basil to go on his long anticipated journey to Germany, which he took the following year. Charles welcomed the opportunity, seeing that it would “give you prestige as well as the reality of preparation for giving instruction in Hebrew, Arabic, etc.”⁸ Unfortunately, little is known of his experiences there.⁹ He did attend the American Protestant Church in Leipzig, likely an Episcopal outpost, and preached there occasionally. Undoubtedly, his most rewarding experience professionally was the opportunity to study with the textual critics Lechler and Keil at the University of Leipzig.¹⁰ Surely the contacts he developed there eased the way for his son George to enter the University and receive a doctorate in Philosophy.

As Basil’s children grew up, they found a supportive uncle in Charles to whom they turned for help and advice. When George, Basil’s second son, began to pastor near Charles in the Broad River Association, he kept in close contact with Charles, and Charles was quick to pass on word to Basil that his son was doing well.¹¹ After George

imply a similarity to that of Basil Rudolph’s. Letter from Charles to Basil, October 5, 1880, MFC.

⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, April 19, 1881, MFC.

⁹ Louise Manly reports only that “he spent some time in Europe reviewing the researches of scholars.” Manly, *The Manly Family*, 217.

¹⁰ Letter from Basil to Lizzie and All, Leipzig, July 17, 1881, SSA.

¹¹ Letter from Charles to Basil April 11, 1881, MFC; Letter from Charles to Basil, September 13, 1881, MFC.

returned from Germany with a Ph.D., Charles was happy to provide advice on educational employment—even though George was occasionally in competition with Charles' own son, John Matthews, for the same position.¹² Will, Basil's fourth son, also entered the academic profession, and Charles provided him with the same source of advice.¹³ And the tenderness of "Uncle Charley" was shown to Basil's daughters, as well; when Louise broke her engagement to a young Greenville man, Charles told Basil to tell "Lou" that he wanted her to come visit—that he would see to it that she need not encounter her former fiancé.¹⁴ He was supportive when she opened Glen Mary College, a woman's college in Ocala, Florida, although the school would eventually fail.¹⁵

But Charles seems to have had the softest spot in his heart for Murray, Basil's second son, who lived with Charles and his family in Greenville off and on throughout the early 1880s. Murray was, in fact, living with Charles when Basil Rudolph had taken his life in 1880; Charles used the opportunity to speak to the young man about his

¹² See, for example, Letter from Charles to Basil, July 5, 1886, MFC, in which George and John had applied for the same position at Wake Forest College, North Carolina. Charles later attempted to arrange for George to take the Presidency of Alabama Central Female College, Letter from Charles to Basil, January 21, 1891, MFC.

¹³ See, for example, Letter from Charles to Basil, December 6, 1887, MFC, in which Charles reports that he is advising Will on dealing with some "annoyances at Mercer," where Will was a professor of Ancient Languages.

¹⁴ "no need to see Mr. Stephenson. . . . I was greatly relieved at hearing that the engagement was broken." Letter from Charles to Basil, June 16, 1880, MFC.

¹⁵ Letter from Charles to Basil, August 28, 1888, MFC; "Gone to His Reward," Louisville Courier-Journal, February 1, 1892, BMF.

spiritual condition, since Murray had “not heretofore felt any special interest in religion.”¹⁶ When Murray left Charles’ home to teach in nearby Greer, Charles was not impressed with the “new work,” but since Murray “appeared to be set upon it,” Charles promised to be supportive.¹⁷ “With his feelings and views, I could not discourage him,” Charles wrote his brother.¹⁸ A month later when Murray visited Charles, the brother reported, “He seems to be getting on well.”¹⁹

For three years, Murray moved from teaching job to teaching job. Charles followed his travels and encouraged Murray, even when his own son might lose out by his success. “Murray would better accept Gwaltney’s offer,” Charles wrote to Basil. “If he declines, I’d like to know--I think John could fill it.”²⁰

Throughout 1884, Charles expressed his hope that Murray would “find profitable and congenial business.” When Murray applied for a position at Buckner College, a new Baptist college in Missouri, he advised against uniting with such a new concern.²¹ When Charles secured job offers for Murray from two schools--who then complained that

¹⁶“I had a long talk with Murray yesterday.” Letter from Charles to Basil, September 27, 1880, MFC.

¹⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, January 31, 1881, MFC.

¹⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 11, 1881, MFC.

¹⁹ Letter from Charles to Basil, April 11, 1881, MFC.

²⁰ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 11, 1884, MFC.

²¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, October 21, 1884, MFC.

Murray had not contacted them--Charles was concerned, writing Basil to discover "what is the upshot of matters."²² "If I can do anything for him," he assured his brother, "let me know."²³

At some point in the next year, 1885, Murray secured a position in a small rural school in Union County, South Carolina. In October, apparently not hearing from Murray, Charles asked a friend, C. T. Scaife, who lived near Murray, to check up on his nephew.²⁴ What he learned alarmed him.

"On asking about him," Scaife reported to Charles, "I find that while he seems satisfied his patrons are not. . . . Through some means Murray has failed to give satisfaction and his school has run down." In fact, "only five regular scholars" remained, and they were the children of the man who had brought Murray there as a teacher in the first place. Jeffries, the students' father, hoped that Murray's "friends should get him away without having to dismiss him." "He has been making a sacrifice for some time," Scaife advised, "hoping that Murray would realize the situation and go. . . . He hopes that his friends will come for him or induce him to leave . . . to use their influence to get him away." Scaife added the reason why Jeffries was so patient: "As Murray is a Baptist and a Manly it is preferred that he go before he is sent away."²⁵

²² Letter from Charles to Basil, December 2, 1884, MFC.

²³ Letter from Charles to Basil, December 26, 1884, MFC.

²⁴ "He doesn't write often to any of us--even to his Grandmother." Sarah was living with Charles throughout the 1880s. Letter from Charles to Basil, April 17, 1885, MFC.

²⁵ Letter from C. T. Scaife to Charles, October 3, 1885, MFC.

"It is imperative for Murray to leave there as soon as possible," Charles wrote Basil, enclosing Scaife's letter. Charles was angered that Murray had again refused to respond to an offer of a position secured by Charles--"this is provoking"--but added, "If there is anything you think I can do--do not hesitate to let me know."²⁶

It is unclear when Murray left Union County, but in February, 1866, Charles invited Murray to come live with the family again. Murray had written a Greenville friend that he was leaving the teaching profession for his "health," and Charles took that angle in inviting his nephew to recuperate in Greenville.²⁷ Charles was puzzled by the response he received. Murray appreciated the offer, but wrote to Charles, "I have weighed anchor and must take the breeze."²⁸

Within a few days, however, Murray arrived at Charles' house, and decided to stay. "No definite business has yet been found," Charles reported, although Julius, Basil's and Charles' brother-in-law, suggested finding agricultural work: "Brother Julius thinks that work on a farm would be just the thing for him." Murray seemed determined, however, to enter the shipping business.²⁹ Throughout 1886, however, Charles would report to Basil, "Murray is still with us. . . . No definite business has yet been found."³⁰

²⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, October 5, 1885, MFC.

²⁷ Letters from Charles to Basil, February 18, February 22, February 23, 1886, MFC.

²⁸ The word "washed" had been written and crossed out before Murray wrote "weighed." The letter concludes, "Please excuse pencil; I have no ink," which was also puzzling to Charles. Letter from Murray B. Manly to Charles, February 20, 1886, MFC.

²⁹ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 23, February 26, 1885, MFC.

Fourteen months later, "Murray has not yet succeeded in finding any business-- although one or two places seem to promise an opening after a while." Charles asked Basil to make inquiries of his friends. "If you come across anyone who wishes someone to travel and represent his business, that is the occupation which he thinks he would prefer. . . . We will do what we can to help him," he assured his brother, "and to make him feel at home as long as he is with us."³¹

Murray's brothers tried to help him; in June, Will attempted to place him in the chair of Latin at Wake Forest. "Murray tells me," Charles reported, "that he does not feel qualified for it . . . and he will not make application for it." This decision Charles actually greeted with relief: "He can hardly expect to succeed in teaching; he is too moody and irregular in all his habits." But Charles had not given up on his nephew. "I am trying now to arrange for him to sell organs or sewing machines" if Basil would provide a horse on which Murray could carry the goods.³²

Nearly a year and a half after coming to Charles' home, Murray was still unemployed. "His case is an enigma to me," Charles wrote. "The longer he is without work, I fear the harder it will be for him to find it."³³ Murray had also taken to being

³⁰ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 4, 1886, MFC.

³¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, April 6, 1886, MFC.

³² Letter from Charles to Basil, June 26, 1886, MFC.

³³ Letter from Charles to Basil, July 5, 1886, MFC.

absent from the house for days at a time. "Where he went or what for, we do not know." The family had asked in the past, but "finding him indisposed to give any information, we do not trouble him now by asking. I'm sorry he's so reticent."³⁴

By November, Charles was desperate for Basil to take charge of his son. He urged Basil to visit the South Carolina Baptist Convention as a representative of the Seminary, and come to talk to Murray. Charles was certain that "he needs some special treatment, or he will probably be really insane after a while." Charles was at "quite a loss;" he had tried to find acceptable employment for his nephew--"he needs employment of body and mind"--but Murray was "utterly indisposed to make any effort in that direction." Charles insisted that Basil visit Murray and take charge of him "that all the responsibility for his future might not rest on me."

Having said so much, Charles decided to tell Basil as much more as he dared; "Many things I could talk to you about that I can not write about." "His notions are quite strange in some respects," he confessed, and he "is not at all himself--perhaps hardly compo mentis." Murray lived "a life of physical self-indulgence and morbid reticence from which I have not been able to rouse him." Charles reported that his own son, Charles, Jr., had told him that Murray "has a pistol which he has by his bed when he sleeps." Although Charles had not found the gun, he had "quietly removed, as far as I can, everything out of his reach with which he can do himself harm." He warned Basil, though, that if Murray wished to attempt suicide, "he could find means to do it in spite of

³⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, July 7, 1886, MFC.

all that I can do," although Charles assured Basil that he had not seen "any disposition in that direction." At the end of the letter Charles gave his strongest complaint; "the girls feel themselves under considerable restraint in regard to him; for, if they manifest any particular friendliness, he continually tends to unpleasant familiarities which they cannot allow."³⁵

While Basil consulted with doctors in Louisville, Charles did the same in Greenville, both reaching the conclusion that there was "no other course than to have him cared for in an asylum." Charles was adamant that a state institution was not the place for Murray; he would do best in "an institution where some personal interest is felt in him by at least one of the physicians, beyond the formal, official interest felt in the patients in general." Basil had suggested the asylum in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, but Charles advised that "it would first be necessary to get him into Kentucky to be examined--and that may require some management. . . . Some stratagem may be necessary."

The insanity of his son threatened to bring dishonor to the family; Basil worried that in a Kentucky asylum Murray would be "more likely to be recognized by visitors" than in South Carolina; Charles did not think that this objection "amounts to much. It is painful, indeed, that a member of our family needs treatment in an institution," Charlie

³⁵Letter from Charles to Basil, November 18, 1886, MFC. It ought to be said that there is certainly no indication that such unpleasantness rose to the level of a sexual assault; in fact, in discussing such cases involving other men Charles was not reluctant to clearly identify sexual abuse, and condemned "reticence" on the topic. Letter from Charles to Basil, March 19, 1891, MFC. Murray's offending practice may have been only a weepy embracing which embarrassed Charles' adolescent daughters.

continued, but “our real friends will think none the less kindly of any of us; as to the others, we need not concern ourselves.”³⁶ Charles agreed with Basil that “if we were obliged to use force to place him in treatment,” it would gather less publicity in the larger Louisville than in Greenville; but again, Charles argued that such concerns “must not weigh too much with us.”³⁷ A further concern for the family’s reputation arose when Charles discovered that under South Carolina law, admission to a state mental asylum would require testimony from those “not related by blood or marriage.” Murray could not be placed in the state asylum at Columbia without “it being fully known.”³⁸ Charles used this legal requirement, in combination with Basil’s sense of family honor, in continuing to insist that a private institution was still the best alternative; it would be more expensive, but the “promptness, individuality, and efficiency of treatment” would be better than in the state asylums.³⁹

Charles turned frantic as February wore on and Murray was “growing perceptibly worse.”⁴⁰ Murray did little but sit silently in the local store; even worse, his excessive masturbation apparently became known and raised concern; and Charles grew increasingly desperate for Basil to take Murray away. “All the developments in Murray’s

³⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 3, 1887, MFC.

³⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 10, 1887, MFC.

³⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 4, 1887, February 14, 1887, MFC.

³⁹ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 14, 1887, MFC.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

case convince us that we can do nothing with or for him here," he wrote his brother.⁴¹ Julius and Charles agreed: "We both hope you can come over at once."⁴² The next day, Charles again wrote his brother, certain that Basil would understand all that Charles dare not write "if you were to see him. I hope you will come on." When Basil arrived, however, he had best do so after midnight: "he may try to avoid you if he should happen to see you come at 2:30 p.m."⁴³

Charles' quandary was solved by Murray himself--Murray became convinced that he needed to visit Louisville. Charles was all too happy to purchase a ticket for him.⁴⁴ His chief concern--more specifically, his wife Mary's concern--was what Basil would think when he met Murray at the station. "Mary is afraid that you will find his clothes in worse condition than she would be willing for a relative to leave her house," he wrote Basil. Murray had become "painfully negligent in regard to habits of personal cleanliness--in great contrast with his former scrupulous neatness in person and dress." Mary had tried to mend Murray's clothes, but "he would just not let her have them. . . . So you must not think any thing in that line is the result of negligence or indifference."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 3, 1887, MFC; A Dr. Maxwell had advised Charles that "Murray must be made to stop his habit of self-abuse, or he would soon grow rapidly worse." Letter from Charles to Basil, February 10, 1887, MFC.

⁴² Letter from Charles to Basil, February 14, 1887, MFC.

⁴³ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 15, 1887, MFC.

⁴⁴ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 22, February 23, 1887, MFC.

⁴⁵ Letter from Charles to Basil, February 23, February 28, 1887, MFC.

Within a few days, Charles learned that Murray had been taken to an asylum in Oxford, Ohio.⁴⁶ Within a few months, after determining that Basil's letters about Murray would not be needed in any legal proceeding, he destroyed them.⁴⁷ Later he advised Basil that any news about Murray--which he certainly wanted to hear--should be written on separate pieces of paper from the main letters so that they could be destroyed.⁴⁸

Murray wrote Charles occasionally after entering the asylum, but each letter made Charles more certain that Murray would never be "trusted out." "Murray's letters are very sad reading," he told Basil. "I don't see what can be done for him."⁴⁹

In all the tragedy of his personal life, Manly continued to teach in the seminary. In the classroom, the mature professor addressed the problems of melancholy in his lectures to young preachers. His course in Old Testament History included a lecture on the depression of the Hebrew Prophet Elijah; one student recorded that Basil had advised

⁴⁶ Letter from Charles to Basil, March 3, 1887, MFC.

⁴⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, May 18, 1887, MFC.

⁴⁸ Charles assured Basil that only John and Helen, his oldest son and daughter, "know where Murray is," and they were "careful never to speak of him to others." Letter from Charles to Basil, April 23, 1888, MFC. Ironically, the letters about the affair that survive were Charles', kept by Basil.

⁴⁹ Letter from Charles to Basil, September 26, 1887, November 15, 1887, MFC. "His recovery is hardly to be expected, I presume." Letter from Charles to Basil, April 23, 1888, MFC. "I don't know what more or other you can do than you are doing." Letter from Charles to Basil, August 28, 1888, MFC; "I very much hope that he will very much improve, even if he does not recover." Letter from Charles to Basil, April 19, 1890, MFC. Apparently, Charles made it a practice to send Murray Christmas gifts. Letter from Charles to Basil, December 10, 1890, MFC.

them that “Preachers often after making their most successful efforts for the good of men and glory of God feel that they have completely [failed] and feel they will never preach again.”⁵⁰ The Seminary Magazine, the student operated journal, featured several of Manly’s classroom proverbs in a section of the magazine entitled “Chips from the Workshop.” “Real character,” Basil advised his students, “comes from coming into contact with evil and then overcoming it.”⁵¹ With the reflection of the years, Basil noted that “Toil and Sorrow” were “the hammer which welds together human hearts.”⁵²

In later life, Basil looked back on his ministry among slaves and freedmen with paternal pride. “I began my life as a preacher to the colored people; I was a colored preacher,” he told his students at a Missionary Society meeting in 1889. (“That’s why you are such a good preacher,” Broadus replied.) “I believe there are hundreds in heaven now who sat under my ministry.” He remembered being surprised when approached by a group of South Carolina freedmen who asked him to run for Congress to protect their interests. The change in race relations that followed the war and reconstruction pained him personally, however; “the colored people gradually drifted away from my influence,” he noted, “till now I have scarcely any influence with them at all.” He remained concerned, however, with the tensions between white and black in the South; “after forty

⁵⁰ The student omitted the word which I have supposed to be “failed.” Thomas E. Tiller, “Lectures on Old Testament History by Dr. B. Manly, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, September 1-.” manuscript, SSA.

⁵¹ “Chips from the Workshop,” Seminary Magazine 4, October, 1891, SSA.

⁵² “Chips from the Workshop,” Seminary Magazine, 3, December, 1890, SSA.

years of study and thought, I know less about what to do for our colored brethren than I thought I knew at the beginning.”⁵³

Basil began several book-length writing projects in the 1880s, few of which he completed. “The Bible and Modern Physical Science” promised overviews of astronomy and geology; it suggested that the earth may be older than the biblical account of its origins would seem to indicate. Unfortunately, only the first section was completed.⁵⁴ “An Outline of Old Testament Text-Criticism” criticized the “prejudice” which “has impeded the progress of similar investigation as to the New Testament” in the study of the Hebrew manuscripts.⁵⁵ “Oriental Discoveries of the Bible” was an attempt to present the archaeological finds of the day in relation to biblical stories.⁵⁶ His curiosity and scholarly pursuits never dimmed. “After almost half a century spent in study, and largely spent in study of the Bible,” he said in an ordination sermon, “I should despise myself if I were to imagine that I could now afford to stop studying, and earnestly endeavoring to learn more.”⁵⁷

In 1887, Manly was the victim of a vicious physical attack. As Basil would later tell the story, Basil’s family awaited his arrival. His five-year-old daughter, Lottie, hid

⁵³ “Personal and Not Personal,” Seminary Magazine, 5, 1889, SSA.

⁵⁴ The manuscript survives in the SSA.

⁵⁵ The manuscript survives in the SSA.

⁵⁶ The Manuscript survives in the SSA.

⁵⁷ “Charge at Ordination of H. W. Williams and A. H. Anthony”, May 19, 1859, SSA.

herself for her favorite game of hide-and-seek; Hattie prepared his “studying gown” and slippers; Clarence poured a bowl of water for him to freshen with when he arrived. When he did not, they began to worry. Clarence and a “young friend” went down to the station to see if Basil’s train had been delayed.⁵⁸

As Basil and his companion passed through a wooded area, Basil heard his friend fall behind him. Unsure why he had fallen, he rushed to his side to assist him, only to be struck on the head himself and knocked unconscious. Eventually he awoke, revived his companion and made his way home, secretly entering his home through the back door. Hattie discovered him in the “rear room” of the house; he was quietly washing the blood from his shirt before making his appearance so as not to frighten his wife and children.⁵⁹

The newspaper accounts of the event, however, tell an incredibly different story. Both the Louisville Times and the Louisville Courier-Journal agree on details at odds with Basil’s later reconstruction. According to these contemporary accounts, Basil was in the company of Fred Walker, a “well-known Main-street whisky broker” with whom his family was boarding.⁶⁰ Manly was struck first, and fell immediately to the ground “with a

⁵⁸ Professor Marcus B. Allmond, “Dr. Basil Manly,” undated, unnamed newspaper clipping, 1892, BMF. Allmond claims to have heard the story from Basil seven weeks before Basil’s death.

⁵⁹ Professor Marcus B. Allmond, “Dr. Basil Manly,” undated, unnamed newspaper clipping, 1892, BMF.

⁶⁰ “Crescent Hill Outrage,” Louisville Times, December 16, 1887, MFC.

groan,” unconscious.⁶¹ Walker, however, “being a much younger man, was making a desperate resistance,” striking several blows before being “rendered insensible.”⁶² As both men lay unconscious, the robbers went through their pockets. Walker awoke first, then revived Manly; after neighbors responded to Walker’s cry for help, both men were assisted to their home, only 50 feet away. “No sooner had the threshold been crossed than Dr. Manly fainted away.”⁶³

There is no way to reconcile the two accounts. But there is no reason to conclude that Basil deliberately lied about the event. Both Walker and Manly were dazed by the attack; Broadus reports that when his wife Hattie asked him what had happened to him, “he answered in a hesitating and dreamy sort of tone, ‘I don’t know. I think somebody must have struck me.’” Walker, too, was, in Broadus’ account, amnesiac after the assault. Walker recovered before Manly did, however, as Basil was treated with morphine for his more serious injuries; the newspaper accounts would have had to rely on Walker’s account. Perhaps Walker lied to preserve his honor; perhaps Basil did likewise;

⁶¹ “Crescent Hill Outrage.” The Louisville Courier-Journal reported that Basil was struck by a “stout heavy club,” and Broadus so described the weapon. “Beaten by Foot-pads,” Louisville Courier-Journal, December 17, 1892, MFC; John A. Broadus, “The Assault Upon Dr. Manly,” Seminary Magazine, 5, March 1892. All other sources agree that he was struck by a “sandbag” or blackjack.

⁶² “Beaten by Foot-pads.”

⁶³ “Beaten by Foot-pads.” “Dr. Manly fainted as soon as he reached his room,” “Crescent Hill Outrage.”

more likely, both men reconstructed the event in their minds as they would have liked for it to have occurred, believing their own reconstructions.

Regardless, the attack was a blow to Basil's honor. A Southern gentleman who saw his picture on the front page of the Louisville Courier under the headline, "BEATEN BY FOOT-PADS," could have not responded otherwise than to feel shame. "To be just knocked down in the head like a calf," Basil wrote a female friend, "when I was merely going to my supper and to be tumbled about on the ground while unconscious by vulgar robbers, hunting for money I didn't have--that is rather an unglorious taste."⁶⁴ Charles wrote him that "it were better to have been hurt in endeavoring to aid an assaulted friend than to have escaped unhurt at the expense of forsaking one in peril. Death, even, is not the worst thing that can happen to a man. Cowardice is worse--the loss of honor is worse."⁶⁵

Just a few months after the mugging, Basil's doctor discovered that he was suffering from mitral valve prolapse.⁶⁶ Charles was concerned for him, advising him "not to undertake anything" over the next summer but "rest and thorough recuperation."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Letter from Basil to Carrie Davis, January 14, 1888, LCB, relying on transcription by Cox, 310.

⁶⁵ Letter from Charles to Basil, December 21, 1887, MFC.

⁶⁶ Cox, 311; Letter from Charles to Basil, April 23, 1888, MFC. The family believed that the heart problem was caused by the attack itself, a myth picked up by several writers: Manly, The Manly Family, 219.

⁶⁷ Letter from Charles to Basil, May 7, 1888, MFC.

When Basil suggested that he might write a biography of their father, Charles thought that even that would cause too much stress. “You ought to rest up in a way you have never done,” he continued to insist.⁶⁸ At times he seemed almost maternal--“You ought not to have your room up high stairs”--but his concern was evident.⁶⁹ He was relieved when Basil grew stronger toward the end of the summer, enough to enjoy his first grandson, born to Lizzie.⁷⁰

When his son Clarence was appointed to West Point, Basil was less than enthusiastic, a sentiment shared by his brother; “I don’t want a child of mine to go there,” Charles wrote.⁷¹ Charles was concerned about his own son, John, who was a graduate student at Harvard University; he asked Basil to write him and warn him of “the perils of the Harvard atmosphere.”⁷²

At the seminary, Basil eventually returned to teaching, and continued as head of the “Students Fund.”⁷³ He also found the time to edit another hymnal, Manly’s Choice.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Letter from Charles to Basil, May 21, 1888, MFC.

⁶⁹ Letter from Charles to Basil, June 28, 1888, MFC.

⁷⁰ Letter from Charles to Basil, August 28, 1888, MFC. Letter from Charles to Basil, May 7, 1888, MFC.

⁷¹ Letter from Charles to Basil, September 12, 1888, MFC.

⁷² Letter from Charles to Basil, September 21, 1888, MFC.

⁷³ Printed Circular, December 15, 1882, MFC.

⁷⁴ Basil Manly, Manly’s Choice: A New Selection of Approved Hymns for Baptist Churches (Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1892).

The Preface to the hymnal suggests some of Basil's attitude toward newer musical styles. "It has been apparent that the rage for novelties in singing, especially in our Sunday Schools, has been driving out of use the old, precious, standard hymns," he wrote. "We cannot afford to lose these old hymns." Basil moved on to praise his own selection: "It contains no trash, and no unreal sentiment or unsound doctrine." Throughout the preface, Basil sees himself as representing an older generation; "the young people today are unfamiliar" with the great hymns of the past, he argued, "and will seldom hear any of them if the present tendency goes untouched." Just as his physical strength began to fade, the proofs were corrected and sent to the printer in the winter of 1891.⁷⁵

About two weeks before his death, he had a "slight stroke of paralysis," and perhaps worse, developed "congestion of the lungs" [pneumonia].⁷⁶ As Basil's condition worsened, he felt the necessity to revise his will. This was done on January 26, only five days before his death. In it he expressed his desire for a simple funeral. He left the bulk of his library to the seminary. Among his children, he divided his property in different ways. To his oldest children, he left \$200 each; the remainder of his property he left to his wife and three youngest children. "I love my children all alike," he assured the older children, but thought it only fair to provide for the younger their education, which he had

⁷⁵ John A. Broadus, "President John A. Broadus on Dr. Manly's Last Work," undated newspaper clipping, Ocala, Florida, BMF.

⁷⁶ "Dr. Basil Manly," undated, unattributed newspaper obituary, BMF. At some point in the middle of 1890, Basil may have suffered a minor stroke; his handwriting shows a noticeable shaking between August 18, 1890 and October 4, 1890. Checks Payable to W. P. Harvey, August 18, 1890, October 4, 1890, MFC.

provided for the older. One child received special mention: "I also desire George and William to take special charge of Murray."⁷⁷

Charles had been with Basil for several days before death.⁷⁸ Charles recorded an account of Basil's last days at the request of a Baptist paper. Hearing that Basil had developed "a complication of congestion of one lung, along with his heart trouble (which was the real difficulty), I felt his end was not far off." Charles arrived with other members of the family. Although Basil "fully understood the significance of our assembling, he seemed in no wise excited or disturbed," even expressing "his fear that we had taken needless trouble on his account."

The last few days were spent in a "reclining chair;" conversation became increasingly difficult, deteriorating to a stage where "his wishes were usually indicated by signs." Occasionally, while "lying apparently in a doze," Charles heard him whispering, "generally snatches of some hymn or tune."

⁷⁷ "Will of Basil Manly," typewritten copy, January 26, 1892, BMF. The seminary faculty was likewise concerned for Hattie and the children; after Basil's death, the seminary paid the remaining year of Basil's salary to Hattie. Letter from John A. Broadus to Charles, February 4, 1892, BMF; Letter from John A. Broadus to Hattie, February 4, 1892, MFC. Broadus also envisioned a biography of Basil by John Sampey, Basil's replacement on the faculty, with the proceeds going to Hattie; Sampey apparently never began such a project. Letter from John A. Broadus to Charles, March 21, 1892, BMF. On the same day that the will was signed, Charles tried to get an account of Basil's property; the two estimated that Basil was worth \$19,770, not counting the profit from Basil's two recent books. "Schedule of Property of Basil Manly, January 26, 1892," BMF.

⁷⁸ undated, unattributed newspaper clipping, BMF.

Over his last week he grew weaker, although Charles claimed that “his mind was perfectly clear up to the very instant of death.” The coughing grew more painful; Charles “feared that in coughing his life would go out.” On January 31, as the physician “was preparing to administer hyperdermically a portion of morphine, Charles held his older brother in his arms. “With indescribable pathos” in his expression, Basil cried out, “Oh me! oh me! oh me!” A moment later he confessed to Charles, “I feel I shall have to give up. Lord, have mercy on me; have mercy on me!” Charles replied, “You know, Brother, that his mercy endureth forever.” As Charles reported the event, “Looking me earnestly in the face, and with a special effort at utterance, he answered, ‘I know it.’ These were the last words I heard him speak.”

At a quarter of nine that evening, Basil stirred from his morphine-induced slumber and asked his wife to help him out of bed. Hattie went to the door to call for assistance; when she returned to his side, he was dead. “In that very instant life was extinct, without a struggle, as there came upon his face the placid smile which so many have remarked as one of his characteristic features. It was victory, it was PEACE, in death.”⁷⁹

Across the Atlantic Ocean, another Baptist leader was dying, Charles Spurgeon, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Temple in London. Their nearly simultaneous deaths proved a double mourning for many Baptists; more than one newspaper editor noted the “coincidence that God took to himself on the same day the two most loved men among

⁷⁹ Charles Manly, “Basil Manly,” undated, unattributed newspaper clipping, BMF. A shorter account was written by Charles the evening of Basil’s death. Note, January 31, 1892, MFC.

the Baptists, Manly and Spurgeon.”⁸⁰ Obituaries of both men appeared in nearly all Baptist papers, as well as secular newspapers such as the New York Tribune and, of course, the Louisville Courier-Journal.⁸¹

Basil’s funeral was held on February 2, 1892, at the Walnut Street Baptist Church where he had worshipped. The two hundred students “marched in a body” from the seminary to the church.⁸² One reporter called it “the largest and most impressive in the city,” and noted the attendance of a Jewish Rabbi and an Episcopal bishop, along with “scores of preachers of all denominations,” among the mourners.⁸³

T. T. Eaton, pastor of Walnut Street Church, preached the funeral sermon, taking as his text, “Rejoice evermore.”⁸⁴ After the sermon, John Broadus spoke about Basil’s life. “He was the most versatile man I ever met,” Broadus said of his friend. “If Basil Manly had devoted himself to one or two or three things, he would have stood out as the

⁸⁰ “Manly Memorial Number,” undated newspaper clipping, Western Recorder, BMF; Manly, The Manly Family, 219.

⁸¹ “Dr. Basil Manly Dead,” Western Baptist, Dallas Texas, February 11, 1892, BMF; “The Rev. Dr. Basil Manly,” New York Tribune, February 2, 1892. Moehring and Rose Press Cuttings, BMF; “Gone to His Reward,” Louisville Courier-Journal, February 1, 1892, BMF. Scores of undated, unattributed obituaries survive in BMF.

⁸² J. R. F., “Our Seminary Letter,” Baptist Courier, undated clipping, BMF.

⁸³ “Rev. Basil Manly, Jr., D.D.” in Our Home Field, Atlanta, Georgia, February, 1892, BMF.

⁸⁴ I Thessalonians 5:16. J. R. F., “Our Seminary Letter,” Baptist Courier, undated clipping, BMF

most famous man of his age. . . The worth of such a man only God can measure.”⁸⁵

Broadus summarized Basil’s life. When he reached “the blow of that assassin” whom Broadus blamed for his death, he “poured forth an appeal of his soul’s righteous indignation at such a beastly act” that “he spoke as though the brute was there present.”⁸⁶ “O wretched man that slew my friend, where are you--in all the round world, where are you?”⁸⁷

Following Broadus’ outburst, a group of students elected by their peers as pallbearers carried Basil’s body to Cave Hill Cemetery; the other students marched behind in single file. Before leaving the church, the congregation sang a hymn written by a much younger Basil Manly, Jr., in the depths of the melancholy which would be his life’s companion, yet which affirmed his belief that there had been another Companion:

In doubt’s dim twilight here I stay,
Upon me shines no cheering ray;
My Savior, drive away my fear,
Abide with me, for night is near.

And when my day of toil is done,
When weak and weary age comes on,

⁸⁵ “A Good Man’s Burial,” Louisville Courier-Journal, February 3, 1892, BMF.

⁸⁶ J. R. F., “Our Seminary Letter,” Baptist Courier, undated clipping, BMF.

⁸⁷ One paper remarked that Broadus’ “tremendously eloquent” verbal attack on the “miscreant” who attacked Basil had been noted in several papers. “We would prefer anything else recorded against us than the murder of an aged minister of Christ, especially one so useful and withal so inoffensive.” undated, unattributed newspaper clipping, BMF. Excerpts from Broadus’ speech are recorded in “A Good Man’s Burial,” Louisville Courier-Journal, February 3, 1892, BMF; Professor Marcus B. Allmond, “Dr. Basil Manly,” undated, unnamed newspaper clipping, BMF. Nearly all accounts of Broadus’ diatribe indicate that he composed himself by hoping that the robber would be brought by his guilt to consider his spiritual condition and repent.

Uphold me, Savior, as I die;
Abide with me when night is nigh.

Soon shall a voice my slumbers wake,
A glorious, endless morning break;
When night and grief forever flee,
May I in heaven abide with thee.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Several undated, unattributed newspaper clippings, BMF; a printed hymnsheet, most likely used at the funeral, survives in BMHCSBC.

CHAPTER 12
“THE MOST VERSATILE MAN:” AN EVALUATION OF
BASIL MANLY, JR.’S LEGACY

One of the first honors paid to Basil Manly, Jr., after his death was the publication of a “Manly Memorial Issue” of the Seminary Magazine, containing testimonials and memories of a number of contributors.¹ One Baptist newspaper commented that “every Baptist” who read the issue would “feel like singing the long-metre doxology” in thanking God for Manly’s ministry. “It is a touching thing,” the editorial reads, “when poor widows send in their 15 cents for it because they wish their sons to read of the great scholar who was so gentle and loving, so brave and true that all who knew him loved him.” “Every Baptist parent,” the editors continued, “will put this magazine in his library and read it to his children.”²

Other honors followed. One mission which he helped establish in Louisville was named Manly Memorial Baptist Church when it became a stable church.³ In 1906, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary established an endowment which would fund the

¹ Seminary Magazine, 5, March 1892, SSA.

² Newspaper clipping, attributed in handwriting to the Western Recorder, undated, BMF.

³ Louise Manly, The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930), 218.

Basil Manly, Jr. Professor of Christian Education.⁴ Perhaps the most prominent of the posthumous honors paid to Manly was the naming of the largest Southern Baptist publishing house, Broadman Press, affiliated with the Sunday School Board. In 1933, John L. Hill, former dean at Georgetown College and book editor for the yet un-named press, “was pondering the question of a press name which might be significant and at the same time acceptable to the Southern people” while riding a train into Greenville, South Carolina. Remembering the leaders of the first Sunday School board, Manly and Broadus, “while he was shaving in the Pullman, like a flash came the inspiration, why not honor both these men and in so doing honor ourselves by blending into one the first syllable of their names? Why not Broadman Press?”⁵

It is no coincidence that the most noteworthy of these honors remember Manly as primarily an educator. Certainly, Basil Manly, Jr.’s greatest legacy was the result of his devotion to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Gregory A. Wills has recognized Manly’s “steady influence on the struggling school.”⁶ Not only in his willingness to teach without receiving salary for extended periods of time, but in his strenuous efforts to raise support for poorer students, he demonstrated his sacrificial love for the seminary

⁴ William A. Mueller, A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 187.

⁵ P. E. Burroughs Fifty Fruitful Years, 1891-1941: The Story of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1941), 130; Robert A. Baker, The Story of the Sunday School Board (Nashville: Convention Press, 1966), 121.

⁶ Gregory A. Wills, “Basil Manly, Jr.” ANB.

and helped it survive its early turbulent years. By returning to the seminary after the Toy Controversy, he helped protect its reputation and standing among often suspicious Southern Baptists, many of whom questioned the need for the seminary in the first place and feared that young ministers might swerve from conservative orthodoxy while studying there.

His gift to the seminary is but the most obvious result of his dedication to the field of education. His concern can be seen in his lifelong devotion to teaching young people, from the Sunday Schools for which he wrote literature, to the public school on whose board he served in Greenville, to the school he established for the slaves on his plantation, to the college education of young men and women, to the graduate education of Baptist ministers. As in his attitudes toward racism and opportunities for women, his educational theories and practices were influenced by his firm belief in progress. He was not so much an innovator as a leader in implementing innovations developed by others.

Manly's progressive views had less of an effect on his denomination than his conservatism, embodied in his *Abstract of Principles*, the guiding doctrinal document of Southern Seminary. In his appreciation of Basil Manly, Jr., J. Powhatan Cox wrote that "it is significant that during the entire interval since the 'Abstract of Principles' was drafted, no serious controversy has centered around them."⁷ If this was not entirely true in 1954 (apparently Cox did not consider the Toy Controversy to be "serious"), it is less

⁷ Joseph Powhatan Cox, "A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." (Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954), 344.

true today. In the Founders' Day Convocation at Southern in 1969, the Abstract itself came under attack from Gordon W. Blackwell, then President of Furman University.⁸ Two specific controversies which have shaken the Southern Baptist Convention since the 1950s have in fact centered on Manly's Abstract.

Beginning in the late 1950s, similar issues involved in the Toy Controversy of the 1870s returned to the convention.⁹ In 1961, Ralph H. Elliot, Professor of Old Testament at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (a Southern Baptist institution) published his commentary The Message of Genesis, accepting most of the conclusions of radical higher criticism. In the following year, he was fired from the faculty at Midwestern. In 1963, in clear response to the Elliot controversy, the Convention revised its doctrinal confession in a new edition of the "Baptist Faith and Message." Gradually, Southern Baptist leaders increasingly fell into two camps: "Moderates," influenced by neo-orthodoxy and occasionally more liberal biblical criticism, and "Conservatives," many of them fundamentalists and all within a broader orthodox evangelicalism.

In 1979, a battle for control of the denomination broke out when members of what became known as the "Inerrancy Party" coordinated a plan to win the presidency of the

⁸ Gordon Blackwell, "The Early Beginnings of Southern Seminary." (Founders' Day Convocation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, September 11, 1969), 12-13.

⁹ Joe Edward Barnhart, The Southern Baptist Holy War (Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1986); McBeth, The Baptist Heritage, 679-687; McBeth, Sourcebook, 443, 497-501, 525-537; L. Russ Bush and Tom J. Nettles, Baptists and the Bible: The Baptist Doctrines of Biblical Inspiration and Religious Authority in Historical Perspective (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 361-367.

convention. The Inerrancy Party was successful, and has come in the last twenty years to control nearly the entire convention through the power of the president to appoint committees to name trustees.

The controversy which threatened to split the Southern Baptists had spread in force to Southern Baptist Theological Seminary by the middle of the 1980s. President Roy Honeycutt, strongly committed to the moderate position, decried the “unholy forces” within the convention pushing for orthodox unity.¹⁰ As the forces within the convention struggled for control of its flagship seminary, the Abstract of Principles was the battleground on which they fought. Beginning in 1983, a string of faculty members left the school under pressure from newly-appointed conservative trustees, either voluntarily or involuntarily. These departures demonstrated that Manly’s Abstract of Principles continued in importance. It served as a tool by which conservative Southern Baptists could gain control of the Seminary and of the denomination, a process which has by now been nearly completed.

Just as important as securing the seminaries was gaining control of the publishing houses of the convention. One of the first decisions of the newly-conservative Broadman Press--renamed Broadman and Holman--was the publication of The Library of Baptist Classics. It is no coincidence that the first book in the series was a republication of Basil Manly, Jr.’s Bible Doctrine of Inspiration.

¹⁰ Barnhart, 2.

The controversy over biblical authority in the Southern Baptist Convention has not been the only crisis in which Manly's Abstract of Principles has played a role. Beginning in the 1950s, many Southern Baptist ministers became interested in the Calvinism of the nineteenth-century leaders of the denomination. By the early 1980s, enough interest and support existed to create a national association of Calvinistic Southern Baptists, eventually taking the name "Southern Baptist Founders Conference" and publishing the polemic Founders Journal.¹¹

The debate over Calvinism promises to be another divisive issue within the convention, and shares many common factors with the earlier controversy. On becoming President of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1993, R. Albert Mohler, Jr., chose to use his signing of the Abstract as an opportunity to call for a return to the "doctrines of grace," a phrase used by many Baptists to refer to Calvinism without naming the founder of the Presbyterian and Reformed traditions.¹² Mohler had been appointed largely because of his promise to enforce the restrictions of the Abstract of Principles on the faculty in Louisville in regard to biblical inerrancy; he surprised many when he also

¹¹ Very little has been written about this new movement in the scholarly literature. For a brief discussion, see H. Leon McBeth, The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 770-776. Perhaps the most notable leaders of the movement are Timothy George, Dean of the Beeson Divinity School at Samford University, and Thomas J. Nettles, Professor of Historical Theology at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. See Nettles, By His Grace and For His Glory: A Historical, Theological, and Practical Study of the Doctrines of Grace in Baptist Life (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986).

¹² R. Albert Mohler, Jr. "Don't Just Do Something: Stand There!" Convocation Address, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, August 31, 1993.

pushed to enforce those articles of the Abstract dealing with Calvinism. Already, the controversy has sparked the kinds of rhetorical hostility of the inerrancy debate, with esteemed Southern Baptist professors and ministers hurling words like “dunghill” at each other.¹³

If Basil Manly, Jr., left his mark on his denomination by defining its flagship seminary by a strongly conservative biblical theology and a strongly Calvinistic systematic theology, his denomination has rarely continued in the irenic pattern he set for dealing with controversy. His pastoral concern for the wounded faith of young seminarians, and his brotherly love for those Christian scholars who disagreed with him, seem rarely present on either side of the controversies which his Abstract of Principles has engendered. Because his seminary and denomination was so young, perhaps, he could afford to defend what he saw as Christian orthodoxy without the harshness which so often accompanies the defense of institutional orthodoxy as well.

If his creation of a doctrinal standard for the seminary is clearly recognized, his other endeavors are not. For a man with such a strong drive to be “useful,” much which he did has passed unnoticed. He was one of the brightest intellectual stars of his region, denomination, and generation. Yet his legacy, when noted by historians, lies largely in his contributions to the centralization of Southern Baptist life (especially in his work for the Sunday School Board), not in his intellectual activities.

¹³ William R. Estep, “Doctrines Lead to ‘Dunghill’ Prof Warns.” Texas Baptist Standard, March 27, 1997.; Tom Ascol, “Do Doctrines Really Lead to Dunghill?” Founders Journal, 18, June 1997.

Certainly his depressive episodes limited his effectiveness. The drain on his mental and physical energies interfered with the scholarly life to which he believed he was called. It is impossible to discern the exact cause of the malady. Basil himself struggled to understand the source of his melancholy. Noting their similar "tendency to 'draw up into a shell'," he asked his father, "Have I inherited it, or imitated it, or does it come just so?" It is likely that the family's genetic inheritance created an environment in which Basil's depression would often flourish. Perhaps the successful career of his father, whom he idolized, seemed a hard act for him to follow. The constant reminder of his father's youthful success and prominent career when he signed his name (until his father's death) as "Basil Manly, Jr." surely triggered much of his melancholy. His career, it must have seemed, would always be junior to his father's.

Another explanation of the intense unhappiness of his first thirty-five years may be that he felt pressured into entering a ministerial career for which he had few gifts and in which he found little pleasure--but for which he had the name and education. The amount of time he spent in pastoral calls and committee meetings took time away from the scholarly pursuits which he enjoyed. He seems to have been displeased with his performance in all of the pastorates he held; except for shorter part-time pastorates, only his four years as the stated supply of Walnut Grove Baptist Church in Richmond--which required no work beyond the delivery of sermons--pass with few complaints in his diaries and letters. Not until his ambitions in college were fulfilled when he became a professor did the intense, introspective melancholy diminish. Clearly depression continued to

attack Manly throughout his life, but his despondency seems to have a different nature. After leaving the pastorate, and more importantly coming to terms with that decision in the years at Richmond Female Institute, his depression seems sparked by external events--death and war--and bears little resemblance to the dark brooding of his youth.

But these factors do not entirely explain why this promising young man failed to gain the fame of his father. Depression could have been a spur to greater creativity and intellectual activity.¹⁴ Perhaps, in part, it was; the result was in the breadth, not the depth, of his involvement in Southern Baptist intellectual life. The broad range of activities in which Manly was involved is striking. The best summary of his life was presented at his funeral by John Broadus: "He was the most versatile man I ever met. If Basil Manly had devoted himself to one or two or three things, he would have stood out as the most famous man of his age."¹⁵ Basil himself lamented in a letter to his son his "multiplying the objects of my pursuit" and concluded, "I might have accomplished more, if I had been a man of one work."¹⁶

Why had Basil devoted himself to so much, but with so few tangible results? The simple answer is that he had a broad range of interests. Yet Basil's own description of

¹⁴ As Bertram Wyatt-Brown suggests it was for certain members of the Percy family; The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁵ "A Good Man's Burial," Louisville Courier-Journal, February 3, 1892, BMF.

¹⁶ Letter from Basil to George, September 28, 1878, LCB, in Cox, 275-277. Both Cox and Wills point to this versatility in giving their evaluations of his contributions. Cox, 348; Wills, 418.

himself to his son is provocative: "I have been all my life a stopper of gaps." Certainly, one reason Basil had involved himself professionally in so many areas was that there were few others in the nineteenth-century South who were qualified and able to do the work. His academic credentials alone were rare; an earned graduate diploma--not the standard honorary Master of Arts--gave him an academic status few in the South could claim. In a society with few qualified, professional intellectuals, Basil's sense of duty drove him to be a "stopper of gaps."

His contributions to Southern Baptist life--and Southern intellectual activity in general--were also limited by the war and reconstruction which occurred when Basil was at a point in his life to make his strongest contributions to the Southern Baptist--and Southern--intellectual world. The closing of the seminary during the war, the financial turmoil after the war which made his presidency at Georgetown a period of fundraising rather than of intellectual activity, and the time spent in planting rather than in writing combined to rob him of opportunities to devote himself to his vocation in his thirties and forties--a time when he might have made contributions which would have earned him the reputation he desired.

In the peaceful setting of Cave Hill Cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky, the remains of Basil Manly, Jr., lie beneath a headstone which reads, "He served his generation in its day." It was a generation with a shortage of Southern Baptist academics and intellectuals; it was a day torn by the violence and aftermath of the Civil War. "I have served my day in a fashion," Basil Manly, Sr., had written his son in the 1845, comparing his own

education to Basil, Jr.'s. "Your day is different from mine--and requires a different preparation."¹⁷ Basil Manly, Jr., had gained that preparation. Neither father nor son, however, could possibly have foreseen the war which would tear their country apart, nor could they guess that the hunger for academic leadership in the South would stretch Basil's intellectual gifts over such a wide area of service. This is certainly part of the answer; but if it were all, it would be a cheap answer indeed.

The father and son could have only a vague idea of the day for which Basil Manly, Jr., was preparing. Yet they foresaw a need for an educated, professional clergy and for strong denominational institutions in the fledgling days of an infant denomination whose membership tended to distrust both. They saw the gifts which their particular expression of Baptist life--the Charleston tradition--could offer the denomination: order, professionalism, and clear doctrinal standards. Against personal, financial, and political difficulties, Basil Manly, Jr., struggled to bring what he felt he had to offer to his generation, region, and denomination. Only in this context can the strength of his influence be seen. If in retrospect he appears at first glance so unremarkable, it is because so many denominational leaders and educators after him would be cast in the mold he created. This was both the gift and the greatness of Basil Manly, Jr.

¹⁷ Letter from Father to Basil, January 30, 1845, UAL.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

Judson College, Marion, Alabama

Louise Manly Collection.
Whitfield Collection.

South Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, James Buchanan Duke Library, Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina

Basil Manly, Jr., Papers, 1838-1892.
Manly Family Correspondence, 1857-92.

Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee

Basil Manly, Jr., Materials, 1825-1892.
Basil Manly, Jr., Papers, 1863-64.
Basil Manly Collection.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Special Collection and Archives, Louisville, Kentucky

Basil Manly, Jr., Collection.

Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina--Chapel Hill

Basil Manly Papers, 1842-1891.

William Stanley Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

Manly Family Papers.

Published Works:

Alley, Reuben E. History of the University of Richmond, 1830-1971. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977.

Ascol, Tom. "Do Doctrines Really Lead to Dunhill?" Founders Journal 18 (June 1997):3-5.

Ayers, Edward L. The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Baker, Robert A. The Baptist March in History. Nashville: Convention Press, 1958.

_____. The Story of the Sunday School Board. Nashville: Convention Press, 1966.

Barnhart, Joe Edward. The Southern Baptist Holy War. Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1986.

Bentley, James. Secrets of Mount Sinai: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1986.

Boles, John B. The Irony of Southern Religion. New York: Peter Lang, 1994.

Bradley, J. N. History of Great Crossings Baptist Church, part one, 1785-1876. Georgetown: Great Crossings Baptist Church, 1945.

Broadus, John Albert. Memoir of James Petigru Boyce. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893.

Broadway, J. William, "A Conversation with Peter Taylor," in Hubert H. McAlexander, Conversations with Peter Taylor. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1987.

Brodie, Fawn M. Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South. New York: Norton, 1959.

Brown, Jerry Wayne. The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870: The New England Scholars. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969.

Burrage, Henry S. Baptist Hymn Writers and the Hymns. Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Company, 1888.

Burroughs, P. E. Fifty Fruitful Years, 1891-1941: The Story of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1941.

- Bush, L. Russ, and Thomas J. Nettles. Baptists and the Bible: The Baptist Doctrines of Biblical Inspiration and Religious Authority in Historical Perspective. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980.
- Calhoun, David B. Princeton Seminary: Volume I, Faith and Learning, 1812-1868. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994.
- Capps, Donald. The Depleted Self: Sin in a Narcissistic Age. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Cash, W. J. The Mind of the South. New York: Vintage Books, 1941.
- Clemmons, William Preston. "The Development of a Sunday School Strategy in the Southern Baptist Convention." Ed.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1971.
- Conversational Club, The Conversationalist XV. Marion, Alabama: Judson College, 1913.
- The Conversationalist II. Marion, Alabama: Judson College, 1899.
- Cox, Joseph Powhatan. "A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954.
- Cox, Norman Wade, managing editor. Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958.
- Dabney, Virginius. Richmond: The Story of a City. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1976.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France." Daedalus 106 (1977): 97.
- Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. Protestant Christianity Interpreted through its Development. New York: Scribners, 1954.
- Duncan, Pope A., "Crawford H. Toy: Heresy at Louisville," in George H. Shriver, ed. American Religious Heretics: Formal and Informal Trials. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.

- Eskew, Harry L. "Southern Baptist Contributions to Hymnody," in Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson. Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America. Nashville: Church Street Press, 1998.
- Eskew, Harry, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson. Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America. Nashville: Church Street Press, 1998.
- Estep, William R. "Doctrines Lead to 'Dunhill' Prof Warns." Texas Baptist Standard, March 27, 1997.
- Farmer, James Oscar. The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the South. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Fields, Carl R. A Sesquicentennial History of Georgetown College. Georgetown: Georgetown College Press, 1979.
- First Baptist Church, Richmond, 1780-1955: One Hundred and Seventy-Five Years of Service to God and Man. Richmond: n.p., 1955.
- The First Century of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia. Richmond: Carlton McCarthy, 1880.
- Fuller, A. James. "Chaplain to the Confederacy: A Biography of Basil Manly, Sr." Ph.D. Dissertation, Miami University, 1995.
- Gamble, Robert. Historic Architecture in Alabama: A Primer of Styles and Types, 1810-1930. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Garrett, James Leo. "The Concept of Biblical Authority among Baptists in America." Review and Expositor 76(1979): 43-54.
- _____. "Representative Modern Baptist Understandings of Biblical Interpretation." Review and Expositor 71(1979):179-195.
- Gill, Everett. A. T. Robertson: A Biography. New York: Macmillan Company, 1943.
- Goen, C. C. Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the American Civil War. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985.

- Gregory, David Louis. "Psalmody in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Southern Baptist Tradition." M.C.M. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1987.
- Ham, Ellis M. History of the Great Crossings Baptist Church, Part Two. Georgetown: Great Crossings Baptist Church, 1945.
- Hamilton, Frances Dew and Elizabeth Crabtree Wells. Daughters of the Dream: Judson College, 1838-1988. Marion, Alabama: Judson College Press, 1989.
- Hatch, Nathan and Mark A. Noll, ed. The Bible in American Civilization: Essays in Cultural History. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Hatch, Nathan. Democratization of American Christianity. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hatcher, William E. Life of J. B. Jeter, D.D. Baltimore: H. M. Wharton and Company, 1887.
- Hill, Samuel S. One Name but Several Faces: Variety in Popular Christian Denominations in Southern History. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- _____. Southern Churches in Crisis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Historical Catalogue of the Georgetown College, 1829-1917. Georgetown: Georgetown News Press, 1917.
- Holifield, E. Brooks. Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1865. Durham: Duke University Press, 1978.
- Holt, Michael F. The Political Crisis of the 1850s. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978.
- Hovey, George Rice. Alvah Hovey: His Life and Letters. Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1928.
- Humphreys, Margaret. Yellow Fever and the South. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Hurt, Billy Grey. "Crawford Howell Toy: Interpreter of the Old Testament." Th.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1965.

- King, John Owen, III. The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
- Kraeling, Emil G. The Old Testament Since the Reformation. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Volume II: The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches. New York: Harper and Row, 1959.
- Leonard, Bill J., ed. Dictionary of Baptists in America. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1994.
- _____. "Types of Confessional Documents among Baptists in America." Review and Expositor 76(1979): 29-42.
- Lindsell, Harold. Battle for the Bible. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976.
- Loveland, Anne C. Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.
- Lyne, Cassie M. "Reminiscences of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Founding of the Richmond Female Institute." n.p., 1926.
- Manly, Basil, and Basil Manly, Jr. The Baptist Psalmody: A Selection of Hymns for the Worship of God. Charleston: Southern Baptist Publications Society, 1850.
- Manly, Basil, Jr. Bible Doctrine of Inspiration. (1889) Nashville: Broadman and Holman Press, 1995.
- _____. Child's Question Book on the Four Gospels. Nashville: Sunday School Board, 1869.
- _____. Little Lessons for Little People. 2 volumes. Nashville: Sunday School Board, 1867.
- _____. Manly's Choice: A New Selection of Approved Hymns for Baptist Churches. Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1892.

- _____. "The Past and Future of Georgetown College: The Commencement Address Delivered at its Fiftieth Anniversary, June 21, 1879." Louisville: Publisher's name obliterated, 1879.
- _____. "A Plea for Colleges . . . Delivered by Request of the North Carolina Baptist Educational Society, at Wake Forest College, June 7, 1854." in Commencement Exercises at Wake Forest College, June 7, 1854. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1854.
- _____. "Reform in Collegiate Education. Address, Commencement Day, June 13, 1872." Louisville: John P. Morton, 1872.
- Manly, Charles. "The Rise of Seminary Sentiment among the Southern Baptists." Review and Expositor 12 (1915):255.
- Manly, George W. "Contradictions in Locke's Theory of Knowledge." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1885.
- Manly, Louise. A History of Judson College. Marion: Judson College Press, 1913.
- _____. The Manly Family: An Account of the Descendants of Captain Basil Manly of the Revolution and Related Families. Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1930.
- _____. Southern Literature from 1579-1895. Richmond, B. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1895.
- Marsden, George. Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- McBeth, H. Leon. The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987.
- _____. A Sourcebook of Baptist Heritage. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1990.
- McCall, Duke K. "The Role of Southern Seminary in Southern Baptist Life." Review and Expositor 67(1970):183.
- McElrath, Hugh T. "Turning Points in the Story of Baptist Church Music." Baptist History and Heritage 19 (1984):4-16.

- McPherson, James M. Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Moody, Dwight A. "Doctrines of Inspiration in the Southern Baptist Theological Tradition." Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982.
- Mordecai, Samuel. Richmond in By-Gone Days: Being Reminiscences of an Old Citizen. Richmond: George M. West, 1856; New York: Arno Press, 1975.
- Morgan, Edmund S. The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth, 1653-1657: The Conscience of a Puritan. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1946.
- Mueller, William A. A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959.
- Mullins, E. Y. Freedom and Authority in Religion. Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1913.
- Nettles, Thomas J. By His Grace and For His Glory: A Historical, Theological, and Practical Study of the Doctrines of Grace in Baptist Life. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986.
- _____. "Missions and Creeds." Founders' Journal 14 (Fall 1994):18-20.
- The Newton Theological Institution: Historical Catalogue, (12th ed.) Newton Centre, Massachusetts: n.p., 1925.
- Nichols, Roy Franklin. The Disruption of American Democracy. New York: Free Press, 1948.
- Noll, Mark A. Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987.
- O'Brien, Michael, and David Moltke-Hansen, ed. Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986.
- Pages from Georgetown's Past, Present . . . Glimpses into the Future. Georgetown: Georgetown College Press, n.d.
- Peacock, James L. "The Southern Protestant Ethic Disease." in J. Kenneth Morland, ed. The Not So Solid South: Anthropological Studies in a Regional Subculture. Athens: University of Georgia, 1971.

- Perrin, William Henry, ed. History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison, and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky. Chicago: O. L. Baskin, 1882.
- Pinnock, Clark H., "Baptists and Biblical Authority." In Ronald Youngblood, ed. Evangelicals and Inerrancy. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984.
- Prather, H. Leon. We Have Taken a City: The Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989.
- Quist, John W. Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform in Alabama and Michigan. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997.
- Rhodes, Marylou. Landmarks of Richmond: Places to Know and See in the Nation's Most Historic City. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1938.
- Richardson, Paul A. "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," in Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson. Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America. Nashville: Church Street Press, 1998.
- Roberts, Edward Howell. Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1815-1932. Princeton: Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, 1933.
- Robertson, Archibald Thomas. Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901.
- Rosenberg, Ellen M. The Southern Baptists: A Subculture in Transition. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
- Rubin, Julius H. Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Rylands, Garnet. The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926. Richmond: Whitett and Stephenson, 1955.
- Sampey, John R. "B. Manly, Jr." The Review and Expositor. 5(1908):405-418.
- _____. Memoirs of John R. Sampey. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1947.
- _____. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: The First Thirty Years. Baltimore: Wharton, Barron, and Company, 1890.

- Schweiger, Beth Barton. "The Transformation of Southern Religion: Clergy and Congregations in Virginia, 1830-1895." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1994.
- Seldon, William K. Princeton Theological Seminary: A Narrative History, 1812-1992. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Shea, Daniel B. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Shriver, George H. American Religious Heretics: Formal and Informal Trials. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.
- Shurden, Walter B. "The Southern Baptist Synthesis: Is It Breaking?" Baptist History and Heritage. 16 (1981): 2-19.
- _____. The Sunday School Board: Ninety Years of Service. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1981.
- Simpson, J. A. and E. S. C. Weiner, ed. Oxford English Dictionary, (2nd ed.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957.
- Snay, Mitchell. Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Snyder, Robert. A History of Georgetown College. n.p., 1978.
- Spencer, J. H. A History of Kentucky Baptists from 1769 to 1885 (1886). Lafayette, Tennessee: Church History Archives, 1976.
- Sperry, William L. Religion in America. Boston: Beacon Press, 1946.
- Stanard, Mary Newton. Richmond: Its People and its Story. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923.
- Stow, Baron and Samuel Francis Smith, ed. The Psalmist: A New Collection of Hymns for the Use of Baptist Churches. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln for the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society, 1843.
- Strong, Augustus H. Systematic Theology. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Sons, 1886.

- Szasz, Ferenc Morton. The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1982.
- Taylor, Peter. In the Miro District and Other Stories. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Trembath, Kern Robert. Evangelical Theories of Biblical Inspiration: A Review and Proposal. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Waldron, Samuel E. A Modern Exposition of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith. Durham, England: Evangelical Press, 1989.
- Wamble, Hugh. "A Student Sees a Coming Split Among Baptists: Basil Manly, Jr., at Newton Seminary, 1844-45." Baptist History and Heritage. 5(1970):123-130.
- Williamson, Joel. The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Reconstruction. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Whitfield, Emma Morehead, compiler, and Theodore Marshall Whitfield, editor. Whitfield, Bryan, Smith, and Related Families. Book One, Whitfield. Westminster, Maryland: The Times, Inc., 1950.
- Whitfield, Jesse G. "Gaineswood: A National Historic Landmark," Demopolis, n.p., 1938.
- Wills, Gregory A. "Basil Manly, Jr." in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, ed. American National Biography. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Wilson, R. J., ed. Darwinism and the American Intellectual. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1967.
- Wood, Forrest G. The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Woodbridge, John D., Mark A. Noll, and Nathan Hatch, ed. The Gospel in America: Themes in the Story of American Evangelicals. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Press, 1979.
- Woodward, C. Vann, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

_____. Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

_____. Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1985.

Youngblood, Ronald, ed. Evangelicals and Inerrancy. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984.

Unpublished Material

Blackwell, Gordon W., "The Early Beginnings of Southern Seminary." Founders' Day Convocation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1969.

Church Book. Great Crossings Baptist Church. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Special Collections and Archives.

Corey, O. R. "Historical Chronology: General College History, 1775-1954." Georgetown College Archives.

May, Lynn E, Jr. "A Brief History of Southern Baptist Sunday School Work." Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Minutes. Great Crossings Baptist Church, Scott County, Kentucky. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Special Collections and Archives.

Mohler, R. Albert, Jr. "Don't Just Do Something: Stand There!" Convocation Address, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, August 31, 1993.

Sanders, Robert W. "Early Struggles of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and How Success was Achieved." Historical Address, Founders' Day, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, January 11, 1923.

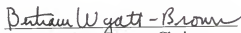
Tiller, Thomas E. "Lectures on Old Testament History by Dr. B. Manly, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, September 1-." Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Special Collections and Archives.

Wolford, Thorp L. "The Seminary and the City: Their First Century Together." Founders Day Address, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1977.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

James M. Manley was born in Naperville, Illinois, on July 19, 1967, and spent much of his youth in Pensacola, Florida. He attended the University of West Florida, where he earned a B.A. in philosophy (1989) and an M.A. in history (1991). He has taught as an adjunct instructor at Central Florida Community College, Santa Fe Community College, and the University of Florida. He serves on the Vestry of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Gainesville, Florida, and is the father of a daughter, Rebecca Jane.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



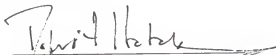
Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Chair
Richard J. Milbauer Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Samuel S. Hill
Professor Emeritus of Religion

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Robert A. Hatch
Associate Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Eldon R. Turner
Associate Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C. John Sommerville". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

C. John Sommerville

Professor of History

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December, 1999

Dean, Graduate School